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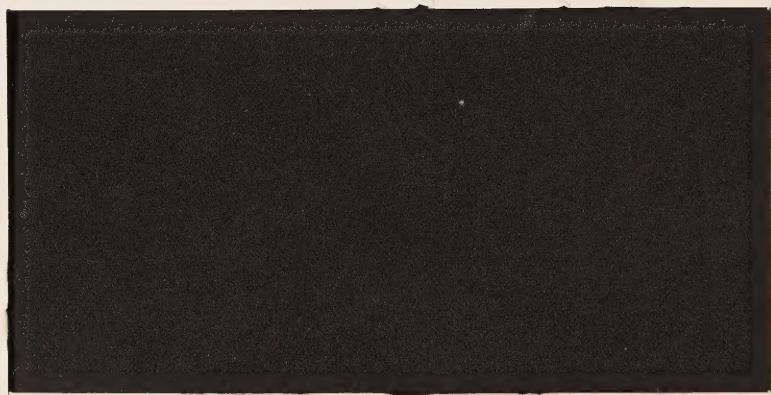# THE ROYAL COMMISSION ON VIOLENCE IN THE COMMUNICATIONS INDUSTRY

RESEARCH REPORT

TELEVISION AND THE FAMILY

AS AGENTS FOR SOCIALIZATION

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Ontario Institute for
Studies in Education

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The views expressed in this report are those of the
author(s) and do not necessarily reflect those of the
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Final Report.

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Introduction

In a journalistic account of parent-child relationships, the teen-agers complain that "a lot of parents want you to become something special so you'll look good for them and their friends. They probably need to be proud of their kids so they can feel they've done something right."[1] And the parents reply in a later issue that "parenthood is an exhausting, infuriating, long-term challenge, even for those of us who love it. Sometimes it gets to be too demanding and, yes, we resent the job and we resent you. That may seem an awful thing to admit, but think for a minute. How often do you resent us, even hate us?"[2]

Regardless of the care or concern which a parent has from the moment a child is born or brought into the home, the potential for tension and conflict is built into the family situation. In the beginning, the child's needs for physical and emotional security are dominant. For a considerable period of time, the routine of the parents is affected by the demand for attention at night or the time required for play. Mature parents enjoy the responses which infants give and "play" becomes an important factor in the early social and linguistic development of the child. The concerns which parents have for their children vary according to their own background and experience of life. Depending upon the intellectual, spiritual, cultural, or socio-economic orientation of the parent, the expectations for the child will vary.

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[1] Liz Primeau, "Dear Mom and Dad, Please Listen, Your Children Are Talking," Weekend Magazine, 10 April 1976.

[2] Idem, "Parents Talk Back, They Listened," Weekend Magazine 12 June 1976.

A British psychologist has observed,

> We learn our social behaviours in a variety of ways. Child psy-
> chologists, for example, have emphasized the importance of parent-
> child relationships, and numerous studies have demonstrated the
> effects these have on the manner in which children behave. It
> seems, for example, that working-class mothers are more rigourous
> and rigid with the disciplining of their children than middle-class
> mothers (Newson and Newson, 1968), and therefore working-class
> children show less acceptance of adults than do their middle-class
> counterparts who are more able to negotiate verbally with their
> parents. The importance of peers has also been well documented
> and this is particularly noticeable in adolescence when the teen-
> ager, reaching Piaget's formal operational stage, begins to question
> the morals and standards of his parents and turns for social support
> to his gang.[1]

In this statement we recognize basic relationships among parents/adults

and children, and among children and their peers. We see differences

in relationships among varying levels of social class. We recognize

concern among parents that their children should become "achieving" adults

while they wish them to conform to group standards which require consider-

able personal sacrifices in their search for self-identity--both parents

and children. At the same time, children wish to be individuals while

they also seem willing to sacrifice their identity in order to find accep-

tance to membership in a peer group. What, then, are the shaping forces

in our society and in particular in Canadian society which shape the atti-

tudes of parents and children with respect to television, and what are

the main influences which determine the self-identity of the individual

regardless of the amount of television he may view? What, if any, are

the characteristics of the Canadian family and the individual Canadian

which would differentiate them from other nations in the Western world

in the use of television?

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[1]Bromley H. Kniveton, "The Impact of Television in Relation to Other
Social Influences," Educational Television (June 1976).

The Canadian Family and Television

There is great ambivalence among authorities and students of the Canadian family about any characteristic national identity it may have. Both Lyle Larson and K. Ishwaran agree on significant differences between the Canadian and the American family. Canadians differ from Americans

> . . . in their orientation towards the melting pot ideal. Canada has traditionally preferred the ideal of the "salad bowl" and has been committed to the goal of cultural pluralism. . . . [The] difference between the ethnic-Canadian as opposed to national-American identities cannot be overlooked in examining the emerging patterns of Canadian youth culture.[1]

And again, "the longstanding and unambiguous Canadian support for cultural diversity has unquestionably given unique credibility to dualism in Canadian culture."[2] Furthermore, "Canadian dualism appears to be the most significant difference between Canadian and American society."[3] But, Larson continues, "assumptions that pluralism and values also constitute important differences remain to be demonstrated. As Lipset (1968) stresses, the similarities between Canada and the United States are far more evident than the differences."[4] While Ishwaran argues that the equation of the Canadian and American family should not be assumed, Frederick Elkin says

> There is no one Canadian family. With its distinctive geography and history, Canada is much too heterogeneous to have one or ten or twenty distinctive family types. As the geographical setting, social class, religious, ethnic, occupational and other groupings vary, so too do our families.[5]

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[1]
Merrijoy Kelner and Evelyn Latowsky, "Emerging Patterns of Adolescence and Youth," in The Canadian Family: A Book of Readings, edited with an introduction by K. Ishwaran (Toronto: Holt, Rinehart and Winston of Canada, 1971), p. 3.

[2]Lyle Larson, The Canadian Family in Comparative Perspective (Scarborough: Prentice Hall of Canada, 1976), p. 24.

[3]Ibid., p. 25.

[4]Ibid.

[5]Frederick Elkin, The Family in Canada (Ottawa: Canadian Conference on the Family, 1964), p. 31.

Indeed, "it seems inescapable that the strong emphasis on ethnic differenti-
ation can result only in those continuing dual loyalties which prevent the
emergence of any clear Canadian identity."[1]

Looking at the Canadian family in comparative perspective, Larson's
research and that of the authorities included in his book leave one
with the impression that it is indeed difficult to argue for any specific
identity for the Canadian family when the concept of the nuclear family
has become the norm for North America as well as for Western culture.
For example, in spite of the massive immigration into Canada after
World War II and the concomitant conservative conceptions about sex roles,
"this conservation was powerfully counteracted in English-speaking Canada
at least, by the heavy impact of American mass media."[2] On the other
hand, following up the tradition of cultural diversity and pluralism in
Canada, Ishwaran has edited his readings on the family in such a way as
to identify and to emphasize the "developmental approach" to the Canadian
family. In short, "we are interested in suggesting a way of looking at
all the studies in this volume from an angle which makes them cohere in
terms of an identifiable and important trend."[3] This trend, the develop-
mental approach, is an interactive or existential approach concerned
with process and human relationships rather than with systematic or
categorical descriptions of the family.

> The first step towards grasping the developmental approach is
> to know that "developmental" does not mean just the "developmental
> cycle" of the family, from birth to death; or courtship, marriage,
> arrival of children, growth of children, "empty nest," and so on.
> The family cycle is only an especial case of the wider developmental
> approach that interests us.

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[1] John A. Porter, The Vertical Mosaic: An Analysis of Social Class
and Power in Canada (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1965), p. 558.

[2] Larson, op. cit., p. 174.

[3] Kelner and Latowsky, op. cit., p. 8.

The second step towards grasping this approach is that it is intended as an orientation to all social formations, including, naturally, the family.

The main idea is that patterns cannot be understood, and therefore they cannot be described or analysed, without an understanding of the processes that generate patterns. Stated in this form, the developmental approach is not confined to family sociology, or any other kind of sociology, but is relevant to all cases where the purpose of investigation is to identify, describe, and analyse patterns. In their violent reaction to nineteenth-century evolutionism, numerous social scientists rejected the obvious priority of process over patterns, the crucial idea that evolutionary thinkers had been trying to convey. The fact is that a great academic injustice has been done to the nineteenth-century evolutionary thinkers who were right in emphasizing the need to understand generative processes in order to understand patterns.

The process may be short-term, long-term, or very long-term; but it must lie at the centre of investigation of those who would discover patterns and the simple principles mentioned earlier, which constitute the raison d'etre of all scientific investigations.

What has been said above is not new even in family studies, because the word "dynamic" is embarrassingly prevalent in the social sciences. But the conception of "dynamic" is confused at present and it is often used as a catch-all phrase. The distinctive feature of the developmental approach is that process has priority over pattern.[1]

The essential point made by Ishwaran is central to the total argument of this paper that "process has priority over pattern." While Ishwaran, as a social scientist, is properly concerned with reliance on clichés like "dynamic," he is equally concerned not to rely on rigid categories. He stresses the need to see the family as an association of individuals bound by kinship and by gregariousness which its individual members recognize to be effective in the long process of adaptive responses to the physical, social, and cultural environment.

As events flow through time, patterns develop: in the human context, they are called "group," "institution," "norm," and what have you. So group, institution, norm, and so on, as exemplifications of aspects of patterns, can be studied "dynamically," only if the generative process prior to the patterns are identified. All this is very different from the so-called developmental approach to family in current literature, and the two must not be confused.[2]

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[1] Ibid., p. 9.

[2] Ibid.

This approach is in contrast to Larson's comparative approach and it is consistent with the stance adapted by the Vanier Institute for the Family with its concept of the family as a vehicle for individual learning, and for socialization.

> No rigid definition of family with regard to structure or membership is intended, nor fruitful, when looking at learning. It is far more rich to think about a familial grouping. Even when the family form is essentially nuclear, attached to some greater or lesser degree to an extended kin network, family roles and membership shift over time. This dynamic rather than static view of the family has considerable bearing on how great is the potential for learning within the family.[1]

Having established a case for the family as a dynamic group, essentially nuclear in character, in Western society, a definition of the nuclear family is desirable. According to Murdoch, there are four functions: (1) socialization, (2) economic cooperation, (3) reproduction, and (4) sexual relations.[2] For the record, it should be noted that Murdoch argues for the universality of the nuclear family. His thesis is challenged by a number of authorities whose positions are summarized by Weiss, making a clear case against Murdoch's thesis. Indeed, Weiss arrives at a more limited definition of the family institution as "a small kinship structured group with the key function of nurturant socialization of the newborn."[3] While models of the "extended" rather than the nuclear family can be found among primates, in other cultures, and even

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[1]Vanier Institute of the Family, "A Conceptual Framework of Learning as Related to V.I.F. Policies and Programs," third draft, May 27, 1976. (Mimeographed.)

[2]George Peter Murdoch, Social Structure (New York: Macmillan, 1949).

[3]Ira L. Weiss, "The Universality of the Family: A Conceptual Analysis," in The Canadian Family in Comparative Perspective, ed. Larson, p. 83. Originally printed in Journal of Marriage and the Family, Vol. 27 (November 1965), pp. 443-453.

in Western culture in the case of the Israeli Kibbutzim, the definition
of the nuclear family with its four functions set forth above continues
to be relevant for the particular problem of this study of the family in
relation to the mass media.

Within the context of Western culture there is one further difference
which needs comment. In a now famous study by Urie Bronfenbrenner,[1] a
comparison is made in the function of the socialization of children.

> [Bronfenbrenner] concluded that Soviet children are consciously
> reared to put the wishes of others first, and to respect the needs
> and expecations of their society. American children, in contrast
> are reared by their peers and by television sets in a climate of
> affluent neglect and subtle apposition to adult society. They are,
> he argues, uniquely anti-social and egocentric compared to Soviet
> children.[2]

On a conceptual basis, this opinion is defensible. But in the context of
the family group as a "facility" for human development, another view can
be taken. Bronfenbrenner is correct in his observation concerning Soviet
children if one accepts the highly categorical definition of society edu-
cated by the neo-Marxist ideology which determines political, social, and
cultural policy in the U.S.S.R. Bronfenbrenner is correct about American
children if one accepts the notion that materialism and affluence in the
U.S.A. have dehumanized the middle class. Such a view would not explain
the many manifestations of idealism which one finds courageously expressed
among American youth.

A similar view was taken of Canadian children in the production of
a film by the National Film Board of Canada, Four Families, 1959.

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[1]Two Worlds of Childhood (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1970).

[2]Larson, op. cit., pp. 219-220.

Canadian children are described as independent, tough, and property-conscious, compared to Japanese, French, and Indian children. These values are developed through parental responses to pain, roughhouse activities, and the individual ownership of toys.[1]

In both these cases, the categorical rather than the developmental concept of the family is the basis for the judgments made. While there is a basic element of truth in these observations, they do not include the range of creativity, social conscience, and personal responsibility so characteristic of thoughtful individuals who are also an integral and effective group even if they are a minority within the middle class. Regardless of these differences of interpretation of behaviour observed among families in various parts of the world, Larson concludes that "patterns of care seem to effectively illustrate the fundamental socialization goals of the society into which the child is born, such as apprenticeship, political support or individualism."[2]

Of the four functions of the nuclear family, the function of socialization is the most relevant in any consideration of the use and the impact of television upon the family. A wide range of studies has been undertaken concerning the role of parents in relation to their children's habits concerning the use of television and there are many different and often contradictory opinions offered. Most notably, there is a sharp difference in the nature of research into this problem between studies done in Europe and in North America. In consideration of violence viewing in the family context, Chaffee and McLeod state

If there is one general conclusion to be reached from this study, it would be that family context variables do not make as much difference in adolescent violence viewing as earlier writers have suggested. Watching television (volent and otherwise) appears to be a "cultural

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[1] Ibid., p. 220.

[2] Ibid., p. 225.

universal" in early adolescence, and the period in which the develop-
ing child withdraws from heavy television use is also the period in
which he becomes progressively less influenced by his parents.
Parental viewing preferences are probably a minor, mostly negative,
factor.[1]

In a field study of some 1300 families, an examination was made of the
influence of parents and of the structure of parent-child relations, on
the use which the adolescent makes of mass media. In this study, a more
moderate view was taken.

Thus, although the modeling correlations based on comparisons within
each family . . . are weak and not very supportive of a direct-
influence modeling interpretation, it appears that families with
similar parent-child communication structures indirectly produce
characteristic media use patterns that are shared by parent and
adolescent on the average. The parent-child communication milieu
perhaps operates as a separate factor that independently leads
parent and adolescent to behave similarly in other communications
situations involving mass media.[2]

It would seem that the more concern the parents expressed for social
cooperation and the realization of ideals, the more likely the children
were to model their viewing on those of their parents.

In Europe, the evidence of research is much more strongly on the
side of children modeling their television viewing on that of their
parents. Perhaps because of the long tradition of the family in European
countries, families are more closely knit and the urge to retain tradi-
tion is in contrast to the pioneering, individualistic spirit of the New
World.

But regardless of the child's own will, regardless of the peer-group
influences, and regardless of the parental censorship, data indicate
that during the average week the pre-schooler watches twice as much
television due to external impulses as he watches on his own initia-
tives. And these impulses are often of an indirect nature, such as

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[1] Steven H. Chaffee and Jack M. McLeod, "Adolescent Television Use in
the Family Context," Television and Social Behaviour, Vol. 3, p. 170.

[2] Steven H. Chaffee, Jack M. McLeod, and Charles K. Atkin, "Parental
Influences on Adolescent Media Use, American Behavioral Scientist, Vol.
p. 336.

"Mama was watching. . . ," or "Everyone was sitting there. . . ,"
or the like.[1]

Several other studies, too, show that the parents' example is one of the

strongest factors in explaining children's viewing habits.

> The more one's parents watch TV, the more the child watches. The
> more positive the parents' attitude towards TV, the more the child
> watches. And the more the parents feel they derive from TV viewing,
> the more the child watches. . . . In other words, the child learns
> that the programmes are attractive by observing the rest of the
> family's behaviour.[2]

In Italy, the evidence pointed strongly to the importance attached to

interaction between children and parents with regard to television. The

degree of significant interaction was found to depend upon social status:

> In the "middle-lower" class greater authoritarianism has in fact
> been recorded, bound to the need to make the children understand
> the rules of the system, for the purpose of guaranteeing or at least
> promoting the rise in status of the children themselves; whereas in
> the "middle-upper" class attempts at "permissive" education are more
> widespread; however it would seem that the family, oscillating be-
> tween authoritarianism and permissivism, in practice adopts author-
> itarianism as an already accepted method, and permissivism in a
> tentative way, strictly limited by uncertainty as to the method and
> its outcome.[3]

One senses here the more close-knit environment of the Italian family

which is consistent with the dialogical nature of the family as a develop-

mental agent for its individual members. Considering the relative afflu-

ence and greater permissiveness of the family environment in Canada and to

an even greater extent in the U.S.A., a further observation by De Domenico

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[1] Olga Linne, "Barn och etermedia" ["Children and the Broadcast Media"]
(Stockholm: Sveriges Radio, Audience and Programme Research Department
No. 6/64).

[2] Cecilia von Feilitzen, "Findings of Scandinavian Research on Child
and Television in the Process of Socialization," in Television and Social-
ization Processes in the Family, a documentation of the Prix Jeunesse 1975,
Special English Issue of Fersehen und Bildung (Munich: Verlag Dokumenta-
tion, 1976), p. 57.

[3] Francesco De Domenico, "RAI Audience Research Study Programme on
Television, Family and Children Socialization," in Television and Social-
ization Processes in the Family, p. 103.

establishes the relation between the developmental concept of the family

in its modeling influence and the dialogue which affects so much the way

in which children view television:

> In addition to the normal privileges, children of the "middle-upper"
> class also enjoy that of greater autonomy and a certain dialogue
> with their parents (the rules of the system can be regarded from a
> more critical viewpoint by those who risk less in terms of achieve-
> ment); moreover in these families the influence of both parents on
> the children appears more intense, this too representing a privilege
> rather than a restriction: in fact such parents carry out to a
> larger extent, and for a longer period, the role of integrating the
> information supplied by the mass media, and of helping the children
> in their school activities.[1]

Reporting on a paper by Dr. Ray Brown of the University of Leeds,

"Child Socialization: The Family and Television" (report of the Proceed-

ings of the 9th General Assembly of the International Association for

Mass Communication Research, Leipzig 1974), Halloran observes that Dr.

Brown's research "focussed on the role of the family as a mediator be-

tween television and children.

> His results suggest that two features of the relationship are particu-
> larly important: first, the kind of control exercised by parents on
> children's viewing behaviour (the liberal dimension) and, second, the
> extent to which parents watch television with their children and dis-
> cuss and comment on the programme they have seen together. Although,
> according to Brown, this second feature (the evaluative dimension)
> is suggestive of a possible deliberate use of television in socializ-
> ing the child, the emphasis in this work is on the mechanics or pro-
> cess [italics mine] of socialization ("which are more culture free")
> rather than on specific socialization objectives. "The socialization
> objective need not necessarily be consciously sought by the parents:
> the child will be shaped regardless."[2]

Here again Brown's research confirms that we cannot reduce to insignifi-

cance the family as a modeling factor in the development of the child's

taste for programme fare on television. In the end, this development

remains within the family.

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[1] Ibid.

[2] James D. Halloran, "On the Research Approaches for Studying Social-
ization in the Family," in Television and Socialization Processes in the
Family, p. 17.

Even as we agree with Brown that "the family is a potential mediator of the impact of television," it is worth recording the conclusions or opinions of Elizabeth Eyre-Brook at Leicester based on her work on "The Role of the Mass Media in the Political Socialization of English Adolescents." Halloran reports that

> She stresses the inadequacies of studying the influence of television on the child in isolation from all other factors that may influence him (family and non-family). She objects to the media being in the middle of the stage all the time. . . . She wants to study all the agents in the socialization process together "working alongside each other". "The influence of all such agents will be a function, of the individual child's situation at the time, of his past experience, and of his future expectations.[1]

Eyre-Brook's position seems not to be inconsistent with that of other researchers referred to in this paper because the family as a dynamic group is one of many such groups which constitute society as a developmental rather than a static or rigid concept. Eclectic schools of sociology which treat society as a static-categorical unit, e.g., the Hegelian concept of society as a unit comprehended by means of conceptually identifiable internal relations, will have little meaning or be of little value when it comes to assessing the complex responses which a society gives to new challenges to its integrity. The interrelationships among media, family, peer groups, and society can best be understood by assessing the dialogue of individuals within the family and of families within society until a holistic, unified awareness of the real values of the individual and the group can be understood. The relationship certainly begins within the family and gradually through the peer group, the school, and society. It is as though the child is born into a family which is necessarily a situational and eventually a dialogical context. Concentrically, the sphere of influence widens in such a manner that the individual retains

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[1]Ibid.

as well as expands his self-awareness until he acts in relation to each
and all of the aforementioned groups. Halloran thus tends to downplay
the effort to achieve research objectives which can be "judged solely
by criteria derived from the physical sciences, and where the value of
their work is judged solely or mainly on their ability to spell out what
is caused by television.

> In taking this stance it was not being implied that television
> had no influence. In fact it was clearly stated at the time that--
> "We might look at the influence of television in several ways.
> Television can be seen as a possible teacher of the behaviour
> appropriate for a variety of positions, conditions and situations;
> as presenting models of behaviour; as providing information which
> extends far beyond one's immediate experience, as giving definitions;
> knowledge including stereotypes in uncertain and unclear situations;
> as offering a wider range of role-taking models than would otherwise
> be available; as suggesting appropriate values and ideals for partic-
> ular positions; as portraying many aspects of popular culture which
> other agencies do not transmit; as playing a part in the socializa-
> tion process previously carried out by some other agency; as a
> reward-punishment technique in parental dealings with the child,
> and in several other indirect ways in relation to other agencies of
> socialization, such as the family, school, and peer groups."[1]

It would seem to be proper now to conclude this discussion of the
family as a model for television viewing by children by reaffirming
Ishwaran's thesis that regardless of patterns of behaviour in the family
identified conceptually, these patterns "cannot be described or analyzed
without an understanding of the processes that generate the patterns."
It is in the area of process, of the generation of these patterns that an
understanding of the family as an agent of socialization is best under-
stood. The word socialization itself has a double emphasis on either the
generative or the dynamic. Its stem "social" itself implies a community
of self-motivating individuals who are further motivated by fellowship
with one another. The suffix communicates the dimension of growth, of

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[1]Ibid., pp. 19-20, quoted from research done by the Centre for Mass
Communication Research, Leicester.

process in time. Combined, the word conveys a dynamic rather than a static concept. It is existential rather than categorical in its intention. Therefore, having identified the family itself as a significant agent of socialization, it would be well to examine the latter term more specifically in order to understand better the interrelationship among the family, the school, the mass media, and the peer group with respect to the use of television by children and young people. Indeed, the term covers a wide range of human endeavour making definition somewhat inexact as far as the demands of rigourous research in the behavioural sciences are concerned. Nevertheless the process is no less real or significant especially as it relates to the developmental concept of the family, to the aesthetic and cultural dimensions of the mass media, and to the stimulation of creative behaviour in the school and within peer groups. It is for this reason that I perceive television as a dynamic, educative, and socializing force; it is therefore appropriate to review the concept of socialization as it pertains to television viewing in Canadian society. I shall select the course for definition and direction in a humanistic rather than a strictly analytical or behavioural dimension. "Hunt and Sullivan suggest that there are two kinds of definitions of psychology. One definition describes the purpose of psychology as being the prediction and control of behaviour, the second views psychology as understanding."[1] It is sharing rather than confrontation, experience rather than indoctrination, understanding rather than rejection, repudiation or censorship which will lead to better relations between TV producers and parents and between children and parents with respect to television.

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[1]Vanier Institute, op. cit., p. 6. cf. David E. Hunt and Edmund V. Sullivan, Between Psychology and Education (Hinsdale, Ill.: Dryden Press, 1974.

Relevant to education, socialization has been defined as "the process by which individuals acquire the knowledge, skills and dispositions that enable them to participate as more or less effective members of groups and society."[1] There is little doubt that the family is the chief force in effecting the socialization of the child for "values and attitudes are first learned within the family and the family continues to mediate subsequent learning in this area."[2] At the personal level, the process of socialization is identified at any given point in time by the "attitudes" expressed by the individual. Indeed the totality of attitudes which manifest the personality of the individual are chiefly the result of the subtleties of educational interaction within the family. The concern for the impact of television on all members of the family, adult as well as child, must be examined in this context.

> According to Sherif, man's socialization is revealed mainly through his attitudes which are formed in relation to values or norms of his reference group or groups. Once formed, these attitudes determine the individual's reaction in a characteristic way, to the groups, situations and the individuals with whom he comes in contact.[3]

It is clear, once again, that attitudes must originate within the family and that as the process of socialization advances, conflicts will arise between the individual and the groups with whom he shares his life. As well, he will have to deal with conflicts within himself. It is not easy for a young person exposed to many external pressures and conflicts of opinion to resolve the cross currents in our values which we as adults support or tolerate. In this context, Halloran has observed:

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[1] Orville J. Brim, Jr., quoted in Handbook of Socialization and Research, ed. David Goslin (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1969).

[2] Vanier Institute, op. cit., p. 16.

[3] James D. Halloran, Attitude Formation and Change (Leicester: University of Leicester Press, 1967), p. 27.

There is clear evidence that children tend to watch the same pro-
gramme as their parents, and that they stay up after their normal
bedtimes to watch certain programmes which are particularly attrac-
tive but not necessarily suitable for them. Parental control and
guidance often seem to be lacking; substantial numbers of quite
young children are viewing until 9 p.m. or after. A close correla-
tion was found between the quantity of viewing of the child and of
his or her mother.[1]

From what has been discussed so far, it is clear that there are many

forces which shape the values, attitudes, and personality of the individ-

ual. The concept of socialization which comprehends these aspects of

human development is a dynamic concept entailing constant interaction of

the individual with the family, the peer group, the school, and, of

course, the mass media.

The area where parental control and guidance is needed in respect to

television as a shaping force in socialization and in the determination

of attitudes is most certainly the area of values.

In so far as there is any consensus of values in society, they are
the values of that section of the society who are capable of impos-
ing them on others. In socialization, the individual is therefore
confronted, not with a single set of values to be "learned" but
with a series of disjunctive and contradictory value systems, which
he must somehow negotiate or render meaningful.[2]

On the one hand, socialization means "transmission of culture," the
particular culture of the society an individual enters at birth; on
the other hand the term is used to mean "the process of becoming
human, of acquiring uniquely human attributes from interaction with
others.[3]

Robin McCron reports on a definition by Zigler and Child, "Simply stated,

'socialization' is the process by which the individual learns, through

social interaction, specific relevant patterns of social behaviour and

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[1]James D. Halloran, The Effects of Mass Communication (Leicester:
University of Leicester Press, 1964), p. 19.

[2]Robin McCron, "Changing Perspectives in the Study of Mass Media
and Socialization," in Mass Media and Socialization, ed. James D. Halloran
(Leeds: J. A. Kavanagh & Sons, 1976), p. 27.

[1]D. H. Wrong, "The Oversocialized Conception of Man in Modern Sociol-
ogy," American Sociological Review, Vol. 26 (1961), p. 192.

experience."[1] Halloran puts the definition in the context of media:

> I presume that we are simply talking about the influence of the
> media dressed up in various guises, a subject which has been dis-
> cussed under many headings (e.g. education development, social
> learning, imitation, impact, effects, adaptation, acculturation,
> politicization, integration, uses and gratification, conflict
> theory, agenda-setting--and, in some countries, even propaganda).[2]

Wrong's differentation between two distinct kinds of socialization
points up the tension which arises when the process of socialization
does violence to man's bodily drives, his need for self-concern as Freud
indicates. At the same time, this self-concern does not preclude man's
need for society and so a young person growing up may resist the insti-
tutional efforts of society to "transmit the culture" but, on the other
hand, the normal process is not so much "transmission" as it is "trans-
formation"--"the transformation of the child into the adult, a process
which includes the learning of attitudes and values. The principal agents
in socialization are other people: parents, brothers, sisters, friends,
teachers and so on. In fact, socialization has often been equated with
'bringing up the child'."[3]

This may seem to be a broad, and perhaps simplistic, definition of
socialization, but it does express the dynamic nature of the process and
enables us to examine parental concern about violence on the media in a
broader social context. In the case of television, the context includes
not only the family and the group with whom the child--as a member of the
audience--shares the viewing experience but it includes the planners and
and producers of the television shows as well.

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[1] McCron, "Changing Perspectives," p. 13.

[2] Halloran, "Research Approaches," p. 15.

[3] Halloran, Attitude Formation, p. 30.

> Television's main effect on children is not that of a "socializer"
> pressing a line on the child. Rather, it feeds a gaudy stream of
> information to him which he forgets or remembers, revises and
> interprets, very largely on his own. . . . But to get at this one
> must enquire in detail into the child's representation of the
> political world, one must be concerned with the nature of his
> experience and the qualities of his thought. And those matters . . .
> are played down in political socialization theory and are ill
> represented by the common questionnaire measurements.[1]

This observation confirms the necessity of looking at the impact of tele-
vision as a general sociology force rather than in terms of a specific
identifiable force such as violence. While the total evidence available
justifies some public concern about the sustained impact of "violence"
on the sensibilities and the character of the growing child, the approach
taken to research by such communications specialists as Halloran, McCron,
Leifer, Sturm, and others helps to explain why there are such strong
differences of opinion between researchers such as Wertham and Liebert
on the one hand and Klapper on the other hand. McCron's concern is not
to repudiate the substance, or indeed the intrinsic value of media
research into social problems such as violence, but he is concerned that
the individual is perceived as being passive. Indirectly, Comstock and
Lindsey confirm this view when they state that "the widespread belief
that the Surgeon General's Scientific Advisory Committee's conclusion
that the violence suggests a causal link between violence viewing and
aggression is correct, and that without significant advances in method-
ology, little can be added in regard to the causal issue."[2] It is the
broader context for research which Brouwer sees in his critique of
research into such selective social problems as violence on TV.

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[1] R. W. Connell and M. Goot, "Science and Teleology in American
Political Socialization Research," Berkeley Journal of Sociology, Vol. 17,
(1972-73), pp. 165-193.

[2] G. Comstock and G. Lindsey, Television and Human Behavior: The
Research Horizon. Future and Present (Santa Monica: Rand, 1975), p. 8.

This focus has led to overriding concern with the audience of the media, to the virtual exclusion of the originators or producers of media content, and of the system within which various types of media content are produced. Further, the audience has been studied in very particular ways, informed by views of the relationship between man and society prevalent in psychological and sociological thought at any particular time. Basic among these is the implicit conception of the communication audience as atomistic. In other words the individual is seen as the self-evident unit in mass communication processes.[1]

In consideration of the relationship between the family and tele vision as "instruments" of socialization, Aimée Dorr Leifer identifies five major strategies:

. . . the provision of examples, the patterning and power of the examples, reinforcement and punishment, opportunities for and encouragement of practice, and attention to the characteristics and needs of the child. The first three strategies are also present in television programming to greater and lesser degrees. The fourth and fifth cannot be determined by television producers, although the child him or herself may choose to practice material seen on television or to select programming consonant with his or her characteristics or momentary needs.[2]

Perhaps the major interest or concern of both producers and parents with television for children is the kind of example presented to children in programming designed to reach them. The well-intentioned but insensitive producer of commercial programming usually tries to win attention of children and approval of parents by using presenters who display a false enthusiasm, a patronizing manner, and overt didactic messages. Regardless of the degree of offensiveness, the personality is usually socially aggressive or extroverted and allows for little interaction or response. On the other hand, as Leifer points out, agencies such as the Public Broadcasting Corporation or the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, the BBC, and other similar agencies, aim to present programs and personalities "because they demonstrate behaviours which producers wish

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[1] McCron, "Changing Perspectives," p. 17.

[2] "Research on the Socialization Influence of Television in the United States," in Television and Socialization Processes in the Family, pp. 26-27.

children to acquire and perform."[1] Careful research into both personal-
ity and activity is undertaken in order to identify creative stimuli for
pro-social behaviour while at the same time respecting the child's
integrity as an individual.

In assessing the patterning and power of the examples provided,
there can be little doubt that this relationship within the family is
dynamic and forceful. We are all familiar with resolution of family
tensions by means of strong physical aggression, strong physical displays
of affection, mild statements and physical separation--or, as Leifer
adds, "variously--and unpredictably for the child--resolved by all three
methods."[2] In the case of television, the frequency, consistency, and
power of these examples is more predictable chiefly because it is, in
large part, pre-planned. The problem is that since it is pre-planned,
the model of behaviour is conceptualized and is received by the viewer
as an intellectual rather than an affective experience. The parent, in
a drama, is prototypical rather than personal, e.g., in the so-called
"situation" family comedy the parent is generalized as "everyman" and
hence the patterning model is "conceptualized" or "universalized." The
fears which parents have about the patterning influence of TV is usually
expressed in terms of conceptually identifiable factors such as "the
father is always presented as a simpleton" or complaints about the
language used and--in some cases--moral disapproval of behaviour or
actions. The alternative to this problem is to develop character and
drama in terms of human interaction. What responses are given by child
viewers to normal adult behaviour? What qualities of maturity in adult

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[1] Ibid., p. 27.

[2] Ibid., p. 28.

behaviour stimulate creative, individualized, pro-social behaviour on the part of the child viewer?

In the case of reinforcement or punishment as a socialization strategy, there are many variations. "Families vary considerably in the frequency with which they reward and punish, the behaviours they choose to reward and punish, the use of physical and verbal reinforcers."[1] While the relationship between parent and child in this situation is direct, unlike the family, television must appeal to the peer group of children and cannot establish a one-to-one relationship.

In looking more closely at current television programme fare in terms of its socializing force, negative dimensions of the conceptualization of character and action are clearly evident in North America. More models of men than of women appear. Blacks are more frequently presented in work situations rather than as leaders. The commercial messages promote toys, snacks, cereals, especially the sugar-coated variety. In short,

> All of these content analyses together suggest that American children see on television a world populated primarily by white males who tend to resort to threat and physical violence to resolve conflict, to be funny, and to achieve their goals, who dominate others, who are active, successful, and generally unaffectionate, and who lead relatively solitary lives without obvious gainful employment. Occasionally women, blacks, and a few representatives of other minority groups within the United States appear. Most often they are dominated by white males, generally unaggressive, relatively subservient, and devoid of bright ideas which are put into practice. Interspersed with this content are numerous suggestions that America is full of interesting and necessary things to buy, an act which Americans are always eager to perform.[2]

If this assessment is correct--and in general this is certainly the impression gained from viewing prime time TV in North America, the question

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[1] Ibid., p. 28.

[2] Ibid., p. 32.

arises: To what extent are these values represented in families? Speak-
ing in general terms, it would seem that as American families seek con-
stantly to realize their ideals for (and through) their children, they
verbalize hostility towards the media for lack of support in their pur-
suit of these goals. At the same time, the average North American parent
perhaps is unconscious of the fact that many of these attitudes seen on
TV are in fact values which motivate parental behaviour. In a normal
family situation the gap between ideals cherished and the practical reality
of character among parents is perceived by children who often challenge
their parents' ideals. It is likely that the challenges of many children
would be greeted with the cliché, "Don't do as I do, do as I say!"

In contrast with the situation in North America, Italian researchers
in the area of socialization see the family and the school as joint partners
with television in the process. Because families are somewhat more closely
knit in the nuclear sense than they are in North America, the role of tele-
vision in providing information on extra-family realities will be more
effective if it is "frame in a body of information and values of family
derivation, and the more (and the longer) the family will be able--in the
child's eyes--both to inform and to confront with the media-furnished
information."[1] Indeed, in a study of 1000 essays mailed by children (aged
mostly between six and eight) for a contest set up jointly by "Radiocorriere"
and a children's TV programme, it is relevant that there was

> . . . a strong presence, in the essays, of the family structure,
> mostly of a cohesive and protective kind; the presence of the role
> of authority, in a significant ambivalence between gratification
> attached to its exercise and attitudes of revolt on the part of the
> subaltern; a widespread recurrence of violence, both physical and
> non-physical (the former prevailing), in essays coming from boys,
> coupled with a remarkable presence of violence exercised by adults
> upon children; lastly, a not infrequent presence of death seen in
> terms of fear.

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[1] De Domenico, "RAI Audience Research," p. 105.

[2] Ibid., p. 106.

It is interesting here to observe that there is probably a close
correlation between the role of authority, physical aggression, and male
emphasis on violence as perceived on TV and as experienced within the
family.

> The influence of the sex factor takes shape in the higher ability of
> the boys to identify characters. This difference does not find a
> conclusive explanation here, but we may presume--by way of hypothesis--
> that it might be connected with the fact that most characters featured
> are male. It may however be of interest, in this context, to note
> that, out of two characters most easily identified by all categories
> of children, one is unquestionably male (Zorro), while the other is
> peculiar for the ambivalence of her role (Pippi Longstocking).[1]

Earlier it was observed that there is a sharp confrontation between
idealistic parents and materialistic advertisers when it comes to assess-
ing the content and presentation of commercial messages. In Italy the
reverse would appear to be the case. As in some other countries, the
commercial messages in Italy are presented as an advertising programme
at about 9:00 p.m., lasting some ten minutes.

> The convergence between parents and mass communication media is
> evidenced by the data regarding the opinion of parents on the advis-
> ability of their children being exposed to advertising messages and
> more particularly to "Carosello" [a typical advertising programme
> lasting some ten minutes in all, consisting of sketches and commercial
> releases, and showing each evening at about 9 p.m.]: Two-thirds of
> them have no doubt as to such advisability, in addition to which
> some 40% of adults consider that "Carosello" constitutes a precious
> aid towards making their children well informed, careful, judicious
> consumers aware of the value of money. Others (10%) are convinced
> that it is useful as an aid to learn the language, for good manners
> and breeding, and to learn models of behaviour which will undoubtedly
> prove successful in the consumer society; whereas others still (5%)
> consider them a useful stimulus for the imagination, creativity, etc.[2]

Throughout the eleven research studies on which De Domenico reports
in his study, the following characteristics all attest to the significance
of television as a socializing agency. Above all, there was very little

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Ibid., p. 112.

difference among these characteristics noted in the several regions of
Italy represented in the studies. In all areas there was a fairly close
correlation between the familial tradition with its adherence to majority
values and to the acceptance of messages conveyed by television. The
findings revealed

> . . . a high incidence of TV viewing time among children's living
> habits; the positive appraisal by families of the importance of the
> TV medium in the socialization process; their adhesion to values
> proposed by the medium; the essentially passive attitude maintained
> by the same families when viewing; their adherence to majority values;
> and lastly their "escapist" expectations towards the medium, which
> is mainly considered as a source of entertainment.[1]

It is worth observing that in both North America and in Italy, the
school as a socializing agency is a significant force in correlation with
the family and television. As Italy moved into mass education in the 50's,
the system remained rigid, conservative, and tradition-minded largely in
response to similar conditions in the family. Even though such a system
had appalling shortcomings, it nevertheless reflected the society in
which it functioned.

In Canada and the United States where mass education at the elementary
and secondary levels preceded the television era, a similar kind of con-
servatism prevailed in response to the school's traditional role of helping
to realize social ideals shared by most families. The difference rests in
the emphasis placed in the North American school upon self-reliance and
individualism. Because there is less interaction among families about
the extra-familial experience of television, the child is left more on
his own when it comes to interpretation of the information he receives.
Hence the North American parent is less likely to share the experience
with his child and is more likely to lash out at the broadcaster for

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[1] Ibid., p. 109.

presenting program fare which is in opposition to or is unsupportive of
the ideals which parents cherish for their children. This problem raises
a challenge for the school in both societies to play a more significant
leadership role in helping both parents and children to understand the
relationships among parents and children, about television, school, and
society.

Throughout this discussion, we have noted the universal enthusiasm
for programme fare which is violent, aggressive, or escapist in character.
Aimee Dorr Leifer reports on a study of the effects of TV on pro-social
behaviour among pre-school children. Basing their research on the responses
of children to two notably pro-social television programmes, Sesame Street
and Mister Rogers' Neighborhood, they sought to assess responses which
would show a positive effect on the pro-social behaviour of children.
Without going into the set-up and procedures, the conclusions are of more
interest for the discussion here. Dr. Leifer was especially impressed
with the "paucity of the effects of Sesame Street's pro-social segments."
While "children can be shown to remember prosocial content and to acquire
specific behaviors which they will then perform in situations which are
quite similar to those portrayed on television . . . they do not, however,
seem to generalize readily from the television material to other prosocial
behaviors or other situations."[1]

In attempting to assess this phenomenon, Leifer observes,

Researchers have found that preschoolers will view particular aggres-
sive acts on television and generalize them to other forms of aggres-
sion in their normal preschool environment, yet they have not found
that children as easily generalize from prosocial programming.
Perhaps this is because aggressive displays are portrayed in a more
interesting manner on television or are for some reason more intrin-
sically interesting to children. This would lead them to attend more

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[1]Leifer, "Socialization Influence of Television," pp. 38-39.

to such displays and learn more from them. Or perhaps it is because
aggression has more utility in children's preschool environments.
If so, a study which only measured performance would more easily find
generalization of aggressive behaviors. The final possibility is
that children have a more well-developed cognitive schema for aggres-
sive behavior and so find it easier to learn specific behaviors from
an aggressive display and to generalize from it. None of these pos-
sible explanations is very appealing, but they all suggest a need to
examine further the ways in which children may learn prosocial
behavior from television.[1]

This thoughtful conclusion demands the further search which Dr. Leifer

suggests. While empirical evidence is lacking, these observations prompt

a philosophical response. In Canada and the U.S.A. the confrontation

between social-personal ideals and the materialistic values of the entre-

preneur continue. This sharp separation between the materialistic and

the idealistic arises from the conviction that the faculty of intelligence,

the capacity to reason is a most significant element of man's humanity.

So paramount is this faculty that many of us believe it to be the essential

element. As we seek to objectify what is most real and enduring about our

traditions and our values, we seek to articulate these values in the form

of rational propositions--as ideals which, after habitual articulation

and expression in the context of practical moral situations, we come to

believe to be real. In the comfortable, affluent middle-class society

of the Western world, these ideals are seldom challenged or felt to be

inadequate. Hence, the Ten Commandments in their absolute form are

honoured more in the breach than in the realization of the principle.

The ideal of moral conduct is applied absolutely to the behaviour of

others while the "judge" conveniently rationalizes his own behaviour.

"Thou shalt not steal," "Thou shalt not commit adultery," "Thou shalt

not kill," and yet many a man has justified his conduct in consumption

of his employer's goods, services or property; he has looked with

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[1]Ibid., p. 39.

lascivious eye upon the physical form of another man's wife; and may often have had the intent to do any kind of violence against his fellow man-- even to the extremity of taking that man's life if he felt that he could get away with it.

The human condition described so far reveals what happens when one thinks of the essence of humanity as purely rational. Law and morality are identical in this situation and reality of the self is abstract rather than personal. If one accepts the Cartesian principle that "I think, therefore, I am," then my real selfhood must be that of "everyman" and the factor of "responsibility" is lost. Children growing up are taught the ideal morality but observe the reality of their parents' actual behavior. A father urges "discipline" of a strict and orderly kind for his son but overlooks the interpretation his son will give of his father's conduct in business when at dinner he reports to the family his success in finding a way around the income tax department. In the end our children emulate our true selves and not the ideals we commend to them.

In the area of media, we have likewise set up a double standard. We want pro-social programs for our children while the majority of adults want "escape" entertainment for themselves. We take publishers to the courts on a charge of peddling pornographic material when they attempt to distribute a realistic but professional book on sex education but we are prepared in many countries to legalize brothels, show pornographic films, and legalize "sex shops" and "body-rub parlours." We want violence elim- inated from children's programmes but we want violence in programmes for our own entertainment. We allow forms of entertainment considered unsuit- able for child or family viewing to be shown after 9:00 p.m., ignoring the fact that such a double standard is immediately recognized by young people who ask quite relevantly "Which is the real standard we are to follow?"

In their anxiety and concern for the impact of television upon the young viewer, parents often select specific models of behaviour or single concepts in programs presented for children as being harmful in terms of character education. To what extent are the endless models of law enforcement using violence to achieve their "lawful" goals suitable for emulation by the young? To what extent is "virtue" being taught by uncreative clowns whose reminders that cleaning one's teeth after every meal or saying "please" and "thank you" are justification for "educational content." Education in this sense is a function of rules and conventions which lead to no deep understanding of dental hygiene or meaningful human relations. Indeed, such gestures on the part of insensitive performers are merely a cover-up for otherwise tasteless content.

The problem in identifying significant relationships between parents and children is to understand the deeply felt needs of both parents and children when it comes to pleasure in entertainment or understanding each other. Sander Vanocur writing in the Manchester Guardian Weekly (June 27, 1976) observes that "television does not exist in a vacuum separate from other aspects of our lives, including the political. Successful programming strikes a responsive chord when it approximates, rather than deviates from, the nation's unformed but deeply felt needs." The implication here is that those who are responsible for programme policy in the mass media must have a wide and deep comprehension of the needs of their audiences if they are to meet the needs of the audiences whom they serve. Some years ago when the major networks of the United States were under pressure from the U.S. Senate Committee of the Judiciary to reduce the amount of violence on adult TV shows, a significant letter turned up in the internal correspondence of CBS which had been handed over in response to a subpoena. Since "violence" in its naked and simplistic form could not be used without

inviting the criticism of the Committee, the then-President of CBS-TV, James T. Aubrey, Jr., ordered his producers and directors to give the audience "broads, babes, and bosoms!"

At this point, the question arises concerning the differences between parents and children in their attitudes to violent or tasteless programming and what responses can be given by responsible and creative producers to meet the real needs of each group. I would venture the opinion that in the past violence has been found to be entertaining because it confirms the viewer's perhaps unconscious belief that the possession and exercise of power ensures security. We need only remind ourselves that regardless of the format of the program, most of the time, the houses are dream houses, the cars are large, prestigious, and powerful, and the illusion of the ideal of material success is constantly before us. The culmination of the action usually is a confusion of two rather dubious principles that the law is always right and that might ensures right. In terms of the dominant traditions of Western morality, the highest obligation is to seek and to realize "the best of all possible worlds." To repeat, the concept of the best world is a world of harmony and of material security. It is an ideal world of universal brotherhood in which everyone shares a common ideal, in which there is no conflict and in which there is no anxiety or insecurity. Problems arise when one realizes that he has not achieved this ideal or when one feels his possession of the ideal is being challenged. Such is the case in South Africa where the theological tradition of the Dutch Reformed Church actually supports the notion of the superiority of the white race which so conveniently (for the whites!) dominates millions of Africans. Hence laws and social institutions such as apartheid are devised, imposed, and enforced to ensure the immutability of race.

> Let me quote the most recent--that of the Commission for Current
> Problems of the Federated Ned. Geref. Kerke. "Every nation and
> race will be able to perform the greatest service to God and the
> world if it keeps its own national attributes, received from God's
> own hand, pure with honour and gratitude. . . . God divided humanity
> into races, languages and nations. Differences are not only willed
> by God but are perpetuated by Him. Equality between natives, col-
> oureds and Europeans includes a misappreciation of the fact that
> God, in his Providence, made people into different races and nations.
> . . . Far from the word of God encouraging equality, it is an estab-
> lished scriptural principle that in every community ordination there
> is a fixed relationship between authorities. . . . Those who are cul-
> turally and spiritually advanced have a mission to leadership and
> protection of the less advanced. . . . The natives must be led and
> formed towards independence so that eventually they will be equal to
> the Europeans, but each on their own territory and each serving God
> and their own fatherland.[1]

It is not difficult to comprehend that we will go on the defensive to pre-
serve the ordered world we know. The harmony of apartheid guarantees the
material security to which the whites have become accustomed. The problem
is that harmony of this ideal sort establishes no meaningful relationships
among the individuals who must share the same social and physical environ-
ment. For the sake of an ideal (in this case, the concept of an elect
people of God) millions of individuals are enslaved, for to allow them
freedom would mean a sacrifice of political and economic power. The in-
evitable outcome of such a philosophy will be conflict and violence.

If the harmony of idealism which characterizes the conventional moral-
ity of the Western middle class is destructive of the individual relation-
ships, what must it do to the relationships between parents and children,
between parents and producers and between producers and children? In this
discussion, "formula" programming and "didactic" or "single concept" pro-
gramming are all the same in their impact on children. An informational
show about the museum produced without imagination and without concern
for the interest of the child may still be considered superior to a

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[1]Father Trevor Huddleston, <u>Naught for Your Comfort</u> (London: Collins,
1956).

"Western" or a "crime show" by parents because the former contains no violence. And yet, lack of concern for a child's feelings or capacity for interest and comprehension is as much an assault on his personhood as is the lack of concern for violent action which may disturb him because he cannot handle the dramatic elements emotionally. We do have the obligation to establish meaningful relationships with children in the matter of television viewing. Our problems are not solved by the substitution of dullness and tastelessness for undue violence. It is not good enough to absorb the child viewer into the harmonious ideal of programs neatly cleansed of all irregular or deviant elements in human behavior or social action. The purity of the ideal children's program is likely to have little meaning for its intended audience. The best programs for children are those in which the performers relate in an understanding way to their young audience. The Friendly Giant reaches out to anticipate the responses which children will give to his gestures. The play between himself and the puppets includes the audience in a meaningful way. The sharing environment of the castle and of the story-telling provides security in which the child at once feels himself while he is able to expand his imagination and his comprehension.

Let us imagine the situation in which the child feels free to ask his parent why he or she watches a crime show while he, the child, is not permitted to do so? I recall being a guest in a house one evening where the seven-year-old boy was in bed and supposedly asleep. The television receiver was showing a popular crime show when the child was heard to say "Daddy! Why are you watching that show with the scary music when I'm not allowed to do so?" Clearly, Father was on the spot. He was deeply committed to the provision of as many pro-social experiences for his children as possible. Like all middle-class parents he cherished the hope that

they might in some way fulfill all of his own unfulfilled ideals. Romantic and perhaps tasteless dramatizations of law enforcement were certainly not manifestations of these ideals. The explanation arises from the double standard referred to earlier. As a successful young business man he was an advocate of law and order, of social and domestic harmony, as one would naturally expect. By his own admission, he enjoyed escape entertainment in the form of crime shows because, he said, he liked the "action." In a lengthy discussion, we came to the realization that has been acknowledged above, that it is part of the human condition to feel insecure when our "empire," our habitual way of life is threatened. Unconsciously he was "escaping" in the exploits of the attractive and immensely competent detective "who always gets his man!" In short, the simplistic conclusion is that if you have enough power you will always have money and status and, above all, you will likely always be right! The outcome of this episode was to tell his son that the next time he wanted to watch a "scary" show, they might sit down together to find out what it was really like.

It would seem then that our ideals are all too often impossible to achieve because they lack the dimension of personal interaction and human experience. As we persist dogmatically in our conviction that "the real is the ideal," we develop a context in which all other opinion must be eliminated. In short, the dominance of an idealistic morality encourages aggressive behaviour in order to ensure or to guarantee its reality. In the end, the agents whom morality must serve have been eliminated. Law in its most rigorous, rational form becomes identical with the moral ideal. Lacking the element of personal responsibility, the agents of morality or its opponents will continue to resort to aggression in order to enforce their will. As long as television and the family or television and society (particularly the articulate middle class) remain in a confrontation

situation, children in our society will tend to "find it easier to learn specific behaviours from an aggressive display and to generalize from it." The alternative would seem to lie in the cultivation of a more responsive (i.e., responsible!) approach to human development in education and society.

Socialization implies in a major sense self-actualization or self-realization in which the individual retains his integrity as a person. Even though we accept as both lawful and moral that one may not steal or murder, the moral content of obedience to such laws implies a prior personal commitment and belief in the integrity and the rights of all persons. Such an appreciation of human worth cannot be imposed upon anyone; moral conduct can only be learned through frequent personal intercommunication and sharing of all dimensions of morality, law, and social intercourse.

In this vein, Dr. Ingo Hermann reports on a study by Dr. Hertha Sturm ("The Viewer as Manipulator"):

> We all know that not only does television do something with the viewer, but the viewer does something with the television programme. His fore-knowledge, the level of his information, his concept of values and opinions, his prejudices and emotions, his self concept and the social group to which he belongs all go to help him interpret the programme.[1]

Dr. Hermann quotes from Dr. Sturm's study:

> It is the actual achievement of American communication research--in which research especially social psychologists, sociologists and politologues participated--to have proved that inter-human lines of communication mediate between the mass media and the individual recipients. Thus all experiments and investigations proved that such inter-human lines of communication are extraordinarily stable in face of influences which aim at changing opinions.[2]

It is clear that the framework for social research adequate to meet Dr. Leifer's challenge is available. The tradition of social psychology so significantly developed by John Dewey and so universally accepted as

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[1] Ingo Hermann, "What Can the Programme Producer Actually Want?" in Television and Socialization Processes in the Family, p. 176.

[2] Ibid.

the foundation for educational theory and practice in our schools defends

the right of the child to develop to his full potential. The difficulty

is that this tradition is not shared by the more stable and affluent

members of our middle class. In short, if we would change a pattern of

modeling or imitative behaviour among children exposed to television and

other socializing agencies (especially the family and the school)we must

change our patterns of child-rearing and moral education to bring about

more dialogue, more interpersonal communication, and less emphasis on

conflict and confrontation.

Parents and Children in Relation to the Use of Television

In suggesting that parents share more frequently the viewing of television

with their children, a number of assumptions are being made which demand

elaboration. At the outset, such a discussion is of concern to parents

who are consciously aware that television is a socializing force for good

or evil. Regardless of goodness or evil, parents may be aware that the

influence of television as a model for behaviour is simply in conflict

with the model which they, as parents, wish to provide for their children.

It is therefore immensely important for concerned parents to have a very

clear idea of the nature of their own convictions and to have an equally

clear idea of or appreciation of the child as a person full of potential

for mature adulthood. We have already identified some of the problems in

the unending, dynamic process of socialization. As individual parents who

are, hopefully, mature adults, we have been socialized to the point in

time when a child is born. Products of a socialization process which

responded to the social, cultural, and environmental challenges of our

time, we now must accept that the process will be different as the child

participates in socialization within a different set of social, cultural

and environmental circumstances. Family-child relationships will be
inevitably different for an adolescent today compared with the period of
adolescence of parents, owing to the medical technology of the contracep-
tive pill. Whether or not one disapproves of its use for moral or health
reasons, the fact remains that adolescents will have to make decisions
about its use. Fear of pregnancy is no longer a dominant restraining--or
"socializing"--force among the members of the peer group of adolescents.
To what extent should such an issue be the format of a television drama?
Norman Lear, in his production of Mary Hartmann, Mary Hartmann, has accepted
changes in social mores and has had the foresight to recognize that human
relations normally not considered to be suitable for regular adult fare
are in fact social realities. He has courageously, and often wittily,
presented these problems in the show. Significantly, it is relegated to
the midnight hour, the assumption on the part of the broadcasters being
that conventional middle-class people are asleep.

But adherence to static or eclectic traditions will not stop the
inexorable activity of the socialization process. The only sensible
alternative is to turn our attention to the nature of the self which is
being realized. Most of us accept habitually, if not by faith or convic-
tion, that as individual persons we are unique and unrepeatable events
in human history. And yet, without the maturation process of socializa-
tion, we can have no security in such a belief. Paradoxically, this sense
of secuirty can be realized only in the context of shared relationships
with others. "Only in the continuous encounter with other persons does
the person become and remain a person. The place of this encounter is
the community."

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[1]Paul Tillich, The Courage to Be (London: Collins, 1952), p. 93.

It is with this sharing spirit that the parent must approach both the good and bad of television programming. Whether or not he restricts the viewing of certain programmes, the child will share it vicariously with his peers. Indeed, his sense of frustration--or humiliation--in not being able to share the experience of TV with his peer group will build up resentment and hostility towards a restrictive parent, thus aggravating the tendency for adolescents to rebel against parental authority.

Armed with self-confidence, the child feels secure in the expression of his ideas and experience of what he sees. The parent believes that he need not go on the defensive about his own values, since there will be lots of time in future dialogue with the child to rediscover their meaning in real-life as well as TV situations encountered by the child. Nathaniel Cantor expresses this theme for both parent and teacher when he describes the nature of conflict and cooperation in the rearing or education of the child. No teacher or parent

> . . . can escape the dilemma of struggling with . . . one's need (to be right), while at the same time using the difference as an oppor-tunity for child growth. If the teacher (parent) gains increasing inner security, (he, she) can afford to be rejected. (He, she) need not become defensive. (He, she) stands for what (he, she) is, remains comfortable, and permits others to disagree. (He, she) does not need the other's support for reassurance. (He, she) does not have to control the others since (he, she) learns to criticize and control (him, her) self.[1]

The basic approach recommended here to parents is consistent with the concept of socialization developed earlier. The parent or teacher who has learned security and achieved genuine maturity from the practice of responsibility (i.e., the capacity to "answer" or "respond" to the gestures of others with personal "gestures" which encourage growth and

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[1] Nathaniel Cantor, The Teaching-Learning Process (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1953), p. 146.

development) will be helpful to children on their own road to maturity.

Since the child learns by responding, his responses to such a parent or

teacher will enable him to regulate and control his own impulses for the

. sake of social life with his peers.

> The individual blob of protoplasm becomes a unique organism which
> must learn to surrender "the pleasure principle" for "the reality
> principle." The developing infant soon internalizes the expectations
> of family and friends. He becomes socialized up to a point. He
> wants to belong and to feel secure, but he also wants to express his
> personality, to be left alone to follow his unique bent, to develop
> his particular capacities, talents, and interests. He wants his own
> style of living, which must be qualified by his social experiences.
> He wants to, or has to, submit to others. He asks, or he struggles,
> to be alone. There are times when he must bend or break. The indi-
> vidual must learn to live with, and in, conflict.[1]

And so, in every encounter with one's child, the purpose should not

be to impose one's own will or specific rule or ideal but rather to take

the encounter as an opportunity to evoke creative and social responses

from the child. In this way the child not only learns the limits of his

conduct but life for him becomes reality-centered, i.e., he learns how

others respond to his words and actions as he in turn gives of himself in

a shared experience. Here we may note the paradox of selfhood discovered

in the giving over of the self on the part of both parent and child. As

Cantor expresses it,

> The individuals (pupils or children) will struggle to maintain their
> present selves. If they are to change in any significant way, they
> must struggle with differences which they feel to be an opportunity
> and not a threat. The process provides the yeast of growth and
> encourages the desire to learn. The teacher (parent) guides the pro-
> cess and introduces the challenge of difference. If there is no
> challenge, against which or with which one must struggle, important
> change is not likely to take place.[2]

There have been many publications over the span of television history

which provide the "do's and don'ts" for parents in the use of TV. Patterns

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[1]Ibid., p. 148.

[2]Ibid., pp. 103-104.

of control range from the example of the Japanese who provided receivers

with a door across the screen which could be locked to prevent any

unsupervised access by children to the American house with several

receivers available. In line with the dynamic approach to television as

an agent for socialization, we will concentrate on those principles of

learning which can be understood and implemented by the parent in the

sharing of television programming with his child.

We have already seen how modeling or patterning as a dynamic part of

socialization is experienced in television programming. It is natural for

the parent to be concerned about imitation of behaviour, character, or

dramatic action which conspires against his ideals for the child's develop-

ment. At the same time, it is important for the parent to understand that

imitation is a natural response for a child to make from the earliest

stages of his development.

Imitation as a form of response may be observed very early in a child's

life. Selma Fraiberg writes at some length of that very special occasion

when a baby smiles for the first time in response to the sight of a human

face:

> The response smile which occurs around two months is a significant
> milestone in the baby's development. . . . This is a very special
> smile. It is not a reflex action, it is not a smile of satiation;
> it is a response smile, a smile that is elicited when a human face
> presents itself. . . . Through repetition of the experience of nurs-
> ing and its regular accompaniment, the human face, an association
> between nursing and the human face will be established. But more
> than this, the pleasure, the satisfactions of nursing, become
> associated with the human face. Repetition of this pleasurable
> experience gradually traces an image of the face on the surface of
> the memory apparatus and the foundations of memory are established.
> When the mental image is firmly established, the visual image of
> the human face is "recognized" (very crudely), that is, the sight
> of the human face evokes the mental image and it is "remembered."
> Now comes the turning point. This is not just a memory based on
> pictures but a memory derived from image plus pleasure: the associa-
> tion established through nursing. The baby's response to the sight
> of the human face is now seen as a response of pleasure. He smiles

at the sight of the human face. . ·. . The baby has made his first human connection.[1]

Later, when baby tries the patience of the dinner table by dropping his spoon repeatedly on the floor, he is not out to be aggressive or irritating, but is trying, in his crude way, to enter into a sociable relationship with the adult whose attention he solicits by his action. In fact, his dropping the spoon is in no way different (although it may certainly seem so to us) from his giving toys to a friendly adult in order to have them given back again. Both are attempts to establish a relationship by setting up responses with others. The child gradually develops the habit of being able to anticipate the gestures of other people in response to his behaviour. Eventually, language as gesture builds on these imitative responses. Indeed, imitation--i.e., the setting up of responses with adults and with those with whom the child plays--is the road to selfhood.

Certainly, every parent is aware of a child's delight in the repetition of experiences which he enjoys. We know they love to have the same stories read over and over again, especially while being held in the comfort and security of the parent's lap. The repetition of significant responses which confirm the real self in response to others rather than in an anti-social affirmation of the will enables the child to develop a true sense of security. There are ample opportunities to observe how children enjoy the retelling of familiar stories and indulge in repetitious playing of familiar games. A familiar experience for a child not only enables him to confirm the reactions he has had in the past and to gain control of what he has learned, but, by giving him an opportunity to re-investigate his responses, gradually leads him through self-discovery to

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[1]Selma H. Fraiberg, The Magic Years (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1959), pp. 39-40.

self-knowledge. In current television shows such as <u>Sesame Street</u>, The

<u>Friendly Giant</u>, and <u>Mister Rogers</u>, regular viewers are familiar with such

repeated segments as the Friendly Giant's arrangement of the Castle for

the next day's visit or the emphasis on personal trust as Mister Rogers

enters his habitat in the Neighbourhood where the child feels secure

enough to explore both the familiar and the unfamiliar. Even the repeti-

tiousness of commercial messages which the planners of <u>Sesame Street</u>

imitated so successfully may provide occasions for linguistic development

and for social criticism. The constant emphasis on parents sharing the

experience of television viewing with their children recalls the research

evidence provided by Francesco De Domenico of Italian Radio and Television

where parents were reportedly in favour of a programme package of commercial

messages, "Carosello," for the reasons just given. To be sure, the cultural

restraints on commercialism in Italy are much more inhibiting for aggres-

sive salesmanship than is the case in North America. Nevertheless, if one

accepts the fact that commercial messages are part of the "free enterprise"

system, then we must find a positive and socially responsible way to deal

with any offensive, i.e., aggressive, elements within the system. By

becoming familiar with the scheduling, the content of the messages, and

the responses children give to them, the parent is in a better position

to evaluate and to criticize. Such an approach is an extension of the

sharing experience from the family to the society. Under the auspices of

the Canadian Advertising Advisory Board, a Broadcast Code for Advertising

to Children was developed. All private stations are required by the CRTC

to subscribe to the Code. The regulatory arm of the CAAB, the Advertis-

ing Standards Council (which had been established previously to regulate

advertising in general) has a panel which reviews and approves all com-

mercial messages directed to children before they are aired. The member-

ship of the panel includes the CRTC, the Canadian Association of Consumers

representatives of the business and academic communities with CBC repre-
sented in an observer's capacity. In short, the factor of imitation or
social response is a basic principle in the total and continuing endeavour
of social learning and human development. Repetition affords an oppor-
tunity to reassess our responses to the challenge of television program-
ming in all its dimensions.

Normal growing children are necessarily active, a condition which
adults often find harrassing. The root of conflict here is that while
adults have learned to control their movements and have long since learned
how to transform activity into meaningful gestures, for the child action
is a means of self-expression, another significant step on the road to
self-discovery. Through experimentation with action, children not only
learn the rudiments of body control, but move on to the significant dis-
covery of creative gestures in the movements of their bodies. The more
opportunities we give a child for meaningful self-expression, the richer
will be his development and the greater his opportunity to fulfill his
creative potential. Our responsibilities in this connection are emphasized
in the preface to the outline of the Physical Education course for the
primary Division (Grades 1-3) in the Province of Ontario.

> These children are dramatic, imaginative, imitative, and very respon-
> sive to rhythmic sounds; they need opportunitites to create and
> explore and should be given the chance to take part in dance, story
> plays, and mimetic activities--to imitate bicycles, elevators, and
> spinning trays; to learn singing games and respond to the rhythmic
> beat of a record or a percussion instrument.[1]

Expression of the body in action is an essential stimulus to creative
growth and development. However, not all action is constructive action.
It is the responsibility of parents and teachers to direct undisciplined
action into creative channels.

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[1] Department of Education, Primary Division, Physical Education, 1956,
p. 1.

At the same time as one considers the necessity for channelling the
activity of children, many parents are concerned about the apparent pas-
sivity of children before the television set. Although the child is fully
absorbed in what he sees and hears, parents often feel that they should
be playing games or reading books, the assumption being that physical
activity or skill in reading are more desirable. The fact is that the
child participates just as actively in what he sees on television as he
does in playing games or reading. It is just as important--if not more so--
that he should be taught how to watch TV or film as it is for him to
develop his body physically or to master the technique of reading, since
it would appear that many children spend more time viewing TV than they
do in reading or in playing games. A good TV programme for children will
in fact invite creative participation or stimulate physical and mental
activity. Through TV, properly presented and properly used, children will
find new channels for their energy and new opportunitites to test their
yet undiscovered or untried talents.

In the situation of sharing television with the child, it is important
to distinguish between the spectacle of rapid action which appeals to a
child and the violence which might have a disturbing effect upon the
child. Experienced viewers of programmes classified as violent which
are frequently seen by children have learned to distinguish between aggres-
sion and the dramatic technique of action-motion. Well-known researchers
into children's responses to media such as Schramm, Himmelweit, Garry,
and Maccoby all have testified that many sorts of vigorous physical action
cannot be classified as aggression. Professor Ralph Garry of OISE has
stated that parents who are sensitive to their children's reactions to
television are aware that it is often the quality of violence and the
nature of the participants which create more tension and disturb more

children than sheer quantity of violence. The typical western, gorged with gunfire, doesn't start children running to their local armoury. It is a well-worn ritual with all the events predictable. The typical bar-room fight scene, for all the broken props, is a kaleidoscope of noisy action for the child, the outcome entirely foreseen, but the actual image as confusing as a girl's first football game. To the child it is more action than violence. However, let the scene involve a slow build-up, a knife, a man stalking a child, shadowy scenes, lingering camera work following the perpetration of injury, and quite frightening effects occur. Let the scenes appear familiar, the actors similar to real persons in the child's life, and one finds effects multiplying, for the tension becomes too great for children. In contrast, the traditional western is to the child what Swan Lake is to an adult--a formal ballet unrelated to life.

Still another reason for sharing TV viewing with one's children is to learn how they respond to the personalities they see on the screen. Every parent who has a loving concern for his child's growth and development towards mature adulthood needs support from other adults in the family and in the community who share this concern. Children learn through mature, "responsive" adults who invite their trust and confidence by show-ing respect for the "persons" of children--both in their avoidance of con-descension and their reassuring anticipation of children's needs and reac-tions. Since children are quick to sense forced pleasantness and insecur-ity in adults, such trusted persons are usually natural, friendly, relaxed adults who inspire children with self-confidence and thus stimulate happy, creative responses from them.

Children can also learn from the competence of others, I once watched a television program on which an exceedingly uninteresting adult presented

information about crafts to children. His voice was monotonous and his gestures were clumsy, but the group of ten-year-olds watched intently. After five or ten minutes, one of them said: "This guy is good! Can he ever draw!" They responded totally to this man's competence in what he was doing, ignoring all the conventions of the adult producers or of the adult observers. The thing that mattered was that he could draw and it was this response to competence that was important. The importance of personality on the television screen as a model for young children is quickly realized in the example of the Friendly Giant (Bob Homme), Mister Rogers (Fred Rogers) and Captain Kangaroo (Bob Keeshan), all of whom have been on the air continuously for over twenty years in well-produced pro-gramme formats, carefully planned content, and above all appearing as sincere adults whom children trust and love as friends. They are members of a community which, provides a source of self-confidence and security for children as they set forth in an ever-widening exploration of them-selves and the world in which they live.

Many parents, quite legitimately, feel that television can provide a rich source of information which can be of value for children. In the early days of television such concerns were met by programmes which intro-duced children to art galleries, museums, the zoo, etc. Along with these shows was the ever-present Disneyland with its romantic, action-oriented interpretations of the world of nature. The relative failure of informa-tion programmes for children lay in a lack of understanding of how chil-dren responded to the television medium. Being by nature active, they wished to participate in the presentation by entering the environment and having the feeling that they were there on the scene of action. Most of us know from experience that children have a natural curiosity about everything that surrounds them. Their chief pleasure arises from any

experience which broadens their view of the world and which satisfies their curiosity about their environment. They love to explore the world of nature; they love to travel; they like information about children in other lands; they enjoy the adventure of a new experience. Since there is ample evidence to show that children use information from any source as a means of extending their experience of the world, the failure of many information programmes on TV arises from ignorance of the technique of television presentation.

The suggestions offered here for the guidance of parents represent a combination of professional experience and lay insights. The question remains as to where parents in general can obtain the information and support needed to deal wisely with the use of television in the home and in particular by their children. In the search for understanding of the impact of television on children, parents must make an honest attempt to assess their own personal values.

We have already referred to the double standard which many middle-class parents adopt with respect to TV. These double standards are a reflection of the crosscurrents in our values. Ralph Garry, in his work with the Foundation for Character Education has identified several of these crosscurrents as we look for a somewhat more intelligible and meaningful approach to television as a component in the total process of socialization. For example,

> Cooperation stands above competition in our moral heritage, and so it must be on television. Nevertheless, the medium should also recognize the need for healthy competition among children as a preparation for life in our society. Through stories and games it can focus on competition as an incentive to self-improvement or constructive endeavor instead of the defeat of the other fellow and discourage cut-throat, tense, devil-take-the-hindmost variety. It can depict group activities such as team rivalry, that successfully combine cooperation and competition—and show how even the bitterest competitors may learn to bury the hatchet and work together for a larger cause.[1]

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[1]Ralph Garry, Television for Children (Boston: Foundation for Character Education, n.d.), pp. 42-43.

Much of the "violent" behaviour of young people arises out of the conflicting expectation and/or desire to be an individual while parents, teachers, and society feel more comfortable with young people who conform; hence the conflict between individuality and conformity. As Garry observes:

> In our culture, there is a dual drive: to be unique and to be like the Joneses. There are positive values in each--we, and our children, seem to derive more self-respect and feeling of worth from being our-selves, but more security from conforming to others. Of the two, the one that seems to need more emphasis today is individuality.[1]

Television formats such as the CBC's Home-made Theatre and the production by WGBH-TV in Boston, Zoom, where young people are invited to submit their ideas for presentation on television do much for the realization of rele-vant programming and of matching individuality with cooperation in a peer group endeavour.

Much of parental concern about violence and the general effect of television on the young is an unconscious preoccupation on the part of the parent to keep and to shape the child in his own image. Such an attitude is certain to produce emotional immaturity. In contrast emotional matur-ity is realized by the encouragement of self-reliance and independence. Growing up means growing away from parental support--which does not mean eliminating affection and respect for parents (in fact, as one parent put it, "the more you let them go, the more you keep them"). Emotional matur-ity comes with genuine interaction when the individual has a meaningful interaction with another person or group concerning an objective or a set of values which they share. Mr. Dress-Up, the Friendly Giant, and Mister Rogers, all inspire confidence among child viewers who often ignore the technology of television transmission and believe the characters to be alive before them in the television "box." Many a television screen has

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[1]Ibid., p. 43.

the marks of children's lips as they kiss their TV friends goodbye. It is

by the means of such interaction and identification that mature attitudes

develop. Self-fulfillment as a mature person entails changes in attitudes.

> Attitude change depends not just on knowledge, but on many other
> factors including the person who is presenting the knowledge, how
> this person is perceived, the form in which the knowledge is given,
> the circumstances of delivery, the manner of presentation, the con-
> ditions and affiliations of those receiving the knowledge and the
> function that knowledge might perform in serving the needs of the
> recipients.[1]

Much depends upon the responses which the "model" established in the inter-

action of the viewer with what he sees. Credibility, expertness, and

trustworthiness are necessary qualities in a good communication. There is

an implication here that a mature individual can readily cope with negative

influences on television while he can respond to enriching experiences

whenever they become available. The Royal Commission on Violence in the

Communications Industry, the United States Senate Committee of the Judiciary,

and other important government bodies in the Western world have been genu-

inely concerned by threatening material on television and other mass media.

But, as A. A. Cohen observes,

> For one thing, the theoretical models, which have been invoked to
> explain the effects of types of appeal, have by and large had to do
> only with negative feelings, and have not usually dealt with those
> emotional appeals which arouse sympathy, affection, elation, satis-
> faction, or other "positive emotions." While the threatening com-
> munication may have many implications for other types of propaganda,
> a question remains for research as to whether there may not be unique
> effects of pleas, which appeal to the positive, moral, ethical, and
> even the religious sides of people.[2]

Another crosscurrent identified by Garry is

> . . . the fact that in America we place a high premium on activity,
> and criticize any medium, such as television, that seems to promote
> passivity. Something can be said for the fact that in watching the
> screen we are not simply behaving like a sponge, but we are thinking,

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[1] Halloran, Attitude Formation, p. 61.

[2] A. A. Cohen, quoted in Attitude Formation, pp. 69-70.

feeling, and at least reacting. Something can also be said in favor
of quietly absorbing, at times, instead of being constantly up and
doing. Nevertheless, those responsible for programming should be
on the lookout for specific positive ways of stimulating child
viewers to constructive activity.[1]

A study by Bushe, Nostbakken, Maurizi, and Zuckernick on children's responses
to television programmes reveals that the child viewer is far from passive
in his behaviour before the TV screen. Under observation by the authors,
the attention of the children to the TV screen varied considerably. Cer-
tainly they were selective of the moments when new information or experience
was likely to appear.

> As research progressed, it became increasingly clear that attention
> cannot be equated to eyes on the set, nor is attention contingent on
> eye contact with the set. As the children interacted with each other
> and the environment (on "no attention" conditions in most instances),
> the researchers noted that at intervals, as if by cue, the children
> glanced at the television set. They often seemed to know when it was
> necessary to look at the set and when it was not. It seemed plausible
> to the researchers that the predominance of audio attributes allows
> the children to follow the program by ear rather than by eye as they
> interact with each other and surroundings. What may appear as a lack
> of attention due to lack of eye contact with the set may, in fact, be
> a participation with the show, friends, and surroundings all at once.
> The children participate with the program in this context by virtue
> of knowing when eye attention is needed and when ear attention will
> suffice. The attention to auditory elements of the program in many
> cases influenced the way children interacted with each other. The
> games they played and roles they assumed in apparent indifference to
> the television often bore resemblances to the program being shown.
> The children explore the studio surroundings in such a way as to
> allow eye contact with the set in short order. In many cases, play
> going on in the studio was interrupted quickly as the children ran
> back to see what the audio portion of the program had already revealed.[2]

Such evidence in itself should be reassuring to parents that television in
itself does not invite passivity. Understanding that the individual is
quite capable of being active rather than passive before the screen should
encourage planners and producers to make creative rather than negative use

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[1] Garry, Television for Children, p. 45.

[2] Cornelius Bushe, David V. Nostbakken, Maxine Maurizi, Arlene Zuckernick,
"Children's Responses to Television Programs," a Report to the Canadian
Radio and Television Commission, Toronto, 1974, pp. 19-20. (Mimeographed.)

of the medium. Bromley Kniveton is convinced that the viewer cannot have

the same meaningful relationship with a TV model or personality as we do

with another person or a social group. Other influences besides tele-

vision help us to

> . . . develop emotional relationships with the party or parties con-
> cerned and [we] are willing to comply with their wishes in order to
> gain approval or support. With television we have no such relation-
> ship and therefore any influence it may have is based solely on the
> extent we see the particular behaviour as being attractive. In addi-
> tion, social learning from parents or groups involves observational
> learning, role training, trial and error learning and conditioning
> as compared with learning from television which incorporates almost
> exclusively observational learning.[1]

The difficulty here is Kniveton's failure to identify the phenomenon of

"responsive" rather than "observational" learning from television.

Observational learning would make the impact of positive or negative

information, e.g., violence, into a direct and overwhelming impact. But

there is enough evidence to show that

> The communicator's audience is not a passive recipient--it cannot
> be regarded as a lump of clay to be molded by the master propagan-
> dist. Rather, the audience is made up of individuals who demand
> something from the communications to which they are exposed, and
> who select those that are likely to be useful to them.[2]

Many biases develop in television among the crosscurrents of mascu-

line vs. feminine roles. We are all familiar with

> . . . stock portrayals of women as schemers or fathers as dopes;
> male heroes as strong silent men who always make their decisions
> without consulting others; female heroes who solve every problem
> through sex appeal. Another unfortunate pattern is the tendency
> to distinguish too sharply between the sexes. Television stories
> can show that girls and women do not have a corner on tenderness,
> humaneness or the ability to care for children--and men do not
> have a corner on mechanical aptitude, physical power or courage.[3]

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[1]Kniveton, "Impact of Television," p. 2.

[2]W. Philip Davison, "On the Effect of Communication," Public Opinion
Quarterly, Vol. 23 (1959), p. 360.

[3]Garry, Television for Children, p. 46.

Underlying this sex bias remains the eternal search for the basic right--to be oneself. In a goal-oriented society, we sacrifice our identity to conform to a group which will realize specific goals articulated as social but which in fact are materialistic, abstract, unreal, and ultimately dehumanizing. Commenting on this problem, William Glasser observes:

> Unlike goals, which vary widely, role, or, as I prefer to call it, identity, is about the same for all people: everyone aspires to a happy, successful, pleasurable belief in himself. Role, or identity, is now so important that it must be achieved before we set out to find a goal. We can no longer afford to ignore this new priority in human motivation.[1]

The question of sexual identity need never arise if those responsible for the education and socialization of children allow the freedom necessary to express themselves as persons. From the earliest years of relationships with parents, "the indispensible contribution of the initiative stage to later identity development, then, obviously is that of freeing the child's initiative and sense of purpose for adult tasks which promise (but cannot guarantee) a fulfillment of one's range of capacities."[2] It is now even more obvious that biased, simplistic and false "oppositions" of sex roles in television shows present models of conduct for young viewers seeking for their own identity which may seriously hinder the development of self-identity and the necessary human conviction that "I am what I can imagine I will be!" Indeed, as Erikson quite properly concludes, "a widespread disappointment of this conviction by a discrepancy between infantile ideals and adolescent reality can only lead to an unleashing of the guilt-and-violence cycle so characteristic of man and yet so very dangerous to his existence."[3]

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[1] William Glssser, The Identity Society (New York: Harper and Row, 1972), pp. 8-9.

[2] Erik H. Erikson, Identity, Youth and Crisis (New York: W. W. Norton, 1968), p. 122.

[3] Ibid.

The review of these several contradictions in our values should serve to stimulate self-reflection among concerned parents about fluctuations, i.e., the ebb and flow between the idealism we cherish and the social reality of our everyday lives. It is not intended that we should abandon leisure and entertainment in order to pursue an exclusively didactic or goal-oriented existence. Instead, as parents, we need to ask ourselves why we enjoy what we watch, to become much more conscious of the techniques, i.e., the "grammar" of television and film production and above all to develop a keener perception as to the "real" values of the society to which we belong.

In order to achieve these goals, popular and readily available sources of information are needed. I know of no newspaper in Canada with a television critic who is really qualified to assess the social, cultural, and aesthetic values in television programming. It is not even known how many people read the existing columns. Instead, the public gets journalistic opinion based on personal observations of the journalist who in turn often writes or expresses opinions which will maximize the readership of his column.

As far as children are concerned, we have many agencies which provide parents with sound opinions about child rearing. But when it comes to television, reviewers or columnists in newspapers rarely ever write about children's programmes because they assume, perhaps correctly, that most adults are preoccupied with their own unreflective escapist approach to the medium. Agencies who dispense public information about child rearing, for some reason, usually adopt a confrontational approach to the broadcasters and encourage a hostile rather than an investigative approach to the medium. They show little understanding of the aesthetic, technical, and economic realities of television production. Parents deserve a

fuller and more responsible account of the nature of television and its impact on children so that a more enlightened public attitude can be developed. In turn, the politicians and the broadcasters would then be able to serve us all better.

Existing associations such as Action for Children's Television in the U.S.A. have served a useful purpose in reminding broadcasters that parents generally have disapproved of the programme fare offered and some positive responses have been given. But the Association is basically motivated in terms of advocacy and confrontation. In the context of this essay, the model of the Canadian Children's Broadcast Institute is more desirable. As presently incorporated, the Institute aims to bring together the broadcasters (private and public), the advertisers, the voluntary agencies concerned with the health, education, and welfare of children, the product manufacturers, and individual representatives of government, parent organizations and education. It is hoped that a sense of mutual confidence will develop among the participants in this association which will encourage a wider public awareness of the needs, responsibilities, and effective use of television by children at home and at school. Ultimately such an organization will be able to provide the kinds of information needed by parents, producers, educators, and the whole community of adults who share the responsibility for the creative socialization of children.

It is unfortunate that there is so little public awareness of the professional contribution which has been made by the major public broadcasting organizations in the world to the enterprise of children's programmes. To mention only a few, the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, the Ontario Educational Communications Authority, the BBC, the Japan Broadcasting Corporation, and, indeed, all the members of the European

and Asian broadcasting unions have made distinguished contributions to
programming for children. It is a little-known fact that among the pro-
vincial television authorities, the English network of the CBC, Société
Radio Canada, and the private network CTV, Canada is second only to Japan
in the number of programs produced for children. More recently, the U.S.A.
through the creation of the Corporation for Public Broadcasting and the
joint private and public support for the Children's Television Workshop
(the producers of Sesame Street and The Electric Company) have made
important contributions to the quality of children's programming. Unfor-
tunately, little is known among the public at large about the policies
and the extent of the service which has been provided chiefly because
neither the agencies of health, education, and welfare nor the print
media have dealt adequately with the contributions made. There has not
been enough cooperation among these agencies who serve children in differ-
ent ways. The result has been that parents are left with the impossible
task of correlating the separate but related contributions each is making
to child development. The Canadian parent and family urgently needs this
support if the child's use of television is to be directed to creative
ends. While initiative should come from the broadcasting, educational,
and child-care agencies, such as the Children's Broadcast Institute, the
Canadian Council of Children and Youth, the Vanier Institute of the Family,
and the Canadian Broadcasting League, the fact remains that it is the
voice of concerned and informed parents which should provide the clues.

Another Canadian organization known as Religious Television Associates
(the cooperating broadcasting units of the Anglican, Baptist, Lutheran,
Presbyterian, Roman Catholic, and United Churches of Canada) undertook
last year to publish Canada's first Children's Television Newsletter, "It
All Comes in a Tube." The aim of "Tube" was to find out what children

and parents think about the TV program fare available and to provide
some meaningful feedback to broadcasters and television producers. A
third purpose was to help families plan their viewing. All programmes
that CTV and CBC feel are of interest to younger people were listed in
the TUBE-Log--with the network's own viewer-age recommendation . . .
and a brief description. Following each programme listed in the Log is
a "feedback" space for the child "TUBE-Logger" to check (√). GREAT_____
O.K._____ DIDN'T LIKE IT_____.

Although the method employed can in no way be called systematic
research, it did provide some two-way responses between producers and the
young consumers of their programmes. Over the year, the editor, Rita
Shelton Deverell, observed that most TUBE-Loggers were between the ages
of seven and twelve, most of whom felt somewhat ambiguous about programmes
designed for them. She noted a strong preference for violent American TV
shows but on the whole there was a considerable listlessness or casualness
about their viewing and their comments. The mail indicated that parents
are deeply disturbed about the impact of television and feel helpless to
do much about what they don't like. Likewise teachers feel hostile about
the amount of television their children watch but seem to have little idea
how to use this extra "educational" material their students are constantly
absorbing.

In spite of this concern and interest, this valuable and potentially
influential service has been discontinued. The cost of maintaining the
service proved to be beyond the financial resources of RTA. It is regret-
table that "Tube" had to cease publication just when there were signs that
the readership by parents and children was increasing. To date, no public
or privage agency has yet volunteered to provide support for such a worthy
project.

Producers and the Use of Television by Children

Television and film producers as members of the community of adults who
serve children should be as aware as parents about production techniques
as well as the responses which children give to television. It is diffi-
cult to raise this responsibility among producers whose shows in most
cases are not planned for children but, nevertheless, are frequently
watched avidly by children, e.g., crime and detective shows. Indeed, the
producer of adult entertainment programmes is caught between the idealist
and the escapist who are mostly the same person in the audience. The high
ratings received by such productions make it manifestly clear that they
are watched by millions of adults as well as children, including adults
who would not approve of such programmes for children.

Guidelines for producers of children's programmes should be determined
basically in a clear understanding of a child's growth and development,
both in psychological and sociological, as well as personal and cultural
terms. For example, close observation of the play of children is of basic
significance in instructions given to writers and performers of children's
programmes. It is important to anticipate how children will respond to
the gestures of performers and the situations presented. Only over a
relatively long period of observation will a producer develop the sensi-
tivity and intuition to recognize those qualities in a script and in an
actor's demeanour which will contribute to a creative children's programme.
A creative programme for children will invite significant responses from
its intended audience which are not always immediately observable. In the
end, such a programme allows children to respond as persons rather than to
patronage or to didactic instruction.

While it is a valid assumption that children enjoy information which
they can interpret within their world of experience, it is imperative that

in the presentation of such information, recognition of their level of
comprehension according to age, intellectual development, and emotional
maturity is taken into account. Too often, planners and producers in
response to idealistic parents and teachers, contrive programs that are
abstract, over-conceptualized, and didactic. Such programs are certain
to bore young viewers. But if the producer, writer, and performers have
tried to create a world of reality in which the child can see for himself
the scientific information in simple and direct manner, then the communi-
cation will be complete. The child will internalize the experience and
integrate it with the synthesis of his previous related experience.
Science programming is greatly enhanced by documentary film which provides
the context for the information presented. Simple animations representa-
tional of natural processes that need slowing down or speeding up in order
to be observed can aid comprehension. Such material can be integrated
with a studio presentation, which allows for close-ups of animals, plants,
or laboratory models intended to visualize the concepts necessary for the
organization of the scientific information to be presented for the child's
viewing experience.

Story-telling has been an avenue for children to share with parents
and other adults the exploration of the world of reality and fantasy as a
child strives to comprehend himself in relation to a confusing, frighten-
ing but, more frequently, an exciting and challenging world. Television
provides the producer with new opportunitites for story-telling by means
of puppets for the young and drama for the older child. Puppetry enables
the producer to present to children human feelings and problematical
situations which he might find otherwise emotionally threatening. It is
as though the child participated in the manipulation of the puppets,
giving him a sense of control which in turn enables him to respond
significantly.

Likewise, cartoon animation designed simply without the harshness
so characteristic of the stylized irony of adult cartoons affords children
visual opportunities for action and response which enriches their facul-
ties of imagination. Great care in the preparation of animation is nec-
essary because of the high cost of production as well as the fees for
talented writers and graphic designers. Societe Radio Canada has made
notable contributions to the production of animated programmes for chil-
dren. Outstanding among these are Illusion, La Creation des Oiseaux,
Abracadabra, and Taratata which has been sold to some nine Francophone
countries.

Since television viewing is largely an informal experience for the
child, producers should recognize that institutional presentations which
require regular viewing at regular times are likely a waste of time and
money. Instead, each viewing experience should be a unit in itself or a
variety of experiences can be included in a magazine format. Such pro-
grammes are usually recognized by a universal title such as Junior Magazine
(a former CBC program), Zoom (U.S.A.), or Blue Peter (BBC). Such maga-
zine shows are built around personalities who are able to demonstrate their
competence in recurring features such as hobbies, crafts, sports, scien-
tific and historical information. Young viewers become familiar with
these personalities and are frequently asked to submit their own ideas
for programme segments. Indeed Zoom is built exclusively on this princi-
ple. Along with studio segments, a wide range of children's films can be
presented. In the area of younger children's programmes, the Children's
Television Workshop with its productions of Sesame Street and The Electric
Company provides good examples of continuity for a magazine format. In
the beginning, Sesame Street was intended to meet the challenge of
tastelessness in children's programs, of violence and of time-wasting in

"passive viewing." The simple concepts here were to teach the basics of letters and of numbers to preschool children living in culturally deprived areas of the United States. Sufficient money was raised to ensure quality in the productions and research was organized to test the results. Careful planning and organization was undertaken to ensure the most effective visual presentation of sequences about learning letters and numbers. The motivation to learn such basic information was studied. Repetition--so effective in commercial messages to children--was adapted to this end with considerable imagination. And indeed ghetto children did learn their letters and numbers somewhat better; but so did the middle-class children who watched and so the gap remained the same even if at a higher level of achievement.

But more important for our purpose here are the aesthetic and affective elements. First of all, as a "magazine" show, the continuity of experience which links the didactic elements to the more experiential elements is a notable achievement in writing and production. There is movement and relationships among people in the notion of "Sesame Street." The very word "sesame" suggests the real world of openness. Attitudes of trust and confidence develop with a child audience responding to the warmth and enthusiasm of the main actors. The child in the audience is made to feel that he is a person of some importance. Repetition of experience here means frequency of significant response and social growth towards emotional maturity is enhanced.

But it is notable that these very strong production elements were not advocated by the planners of the series. The Children's Television Workshop was funded to teach letters and numbers to ghetto children and to upgrade their learning capacity. If one could sell corn flakes by repetitious slapstick commercial messages, surely one could sell letters

and numbers in the same way. The irony emerged when the didactic planners handed over their material to creative producers whose instinct told them that children first start learning when they make "playful" responses to the gestures of loving adults. No one yet knows how much the learning of letters and numbers depends upon carefully planned didactic presentation and how much motivation to learn arises from the feeling of self-confidence in being a participating member in the community of Sesame Street.

The most important feature of the variety, magazine, or multi-purpose programme is the "continuity." Considerable artistic and professional skill is required to devise visual flow and sequence from one segment to another. The director must exercise care to see that there is some visual logic to the sequence of the segments. The viewer himself should feel a rhythm in the visual flow of the programme which culminates in a unified aesthetic experience. Properly executed, the presenter and the viewer share the excitement of revealing the events to come in the programme as, for example, a close-up of an interesting mobile leads into a craft segment, close-ups of live animals in action lead into a natural science unit, or interaction between puppets and live characters carry the viewer into a realm of fantasy.

Mister Rogers provides another interesting example of continuity writing which synthesizes a number of important elements. Fred Rogers, who has planned, written, produced, and performed his own series for many years, is a highly intelligent, well-trained theologian and psychiatric social worker as well as being a most talented television performer. The main purpose of the show is to build self-confidence in the responding viewer. In addition, the scripts contain highly didactic elements intelligently selected in terms of their importance for children. Rogers understands the child's fears of darkness and of strange environments. He knows

of the importance of preparation for a visit to the barber shop and to the dentist. The continuity is synthesized by Roger's personality and the role he plays with guests in his studio. The children move back and forth between the reality of the studio and the Land of Make Believe where the puppet King Friday and the members of his court deal with problems of interest and concern to children. Children participate in the television "community" of the neighbourhood, working out problems with their friends without the inhibiting fear of failure.

The magazine or multipurpose programme may include the same elements of story-telling or other programme activities which constitute entire programmes. Successful productions in this format combine all the elements which make good programming for children. It includes presenters who know how to invite normal, happy resonses from children. If a dynamic, understanding relationship prevails among the writers, researchers, presenters, and producers, the program content will be understood and enjoyed by children. The child then will have a natural confidence in the presenter and the programme. He will be secure in the worth of the information he sees and will develop a real enthusiasm for television as an extension of his world of perception and imagination.

The School in Relation to Children's Informal Use of Television

John Dewey has defined education as "that reconstruction or reorganization of experience which adds to the meaning of experience and which increases ability to direct the course of subsequent experience."[1] The Vanier Institute extends this definition with the following propositions.

> Learning is defined as the active process of creating and recreating with others one's image of reality based on experience.
> Education is the deliberate transmission of selected content for learning.

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[1] John Dewey, Democracy and Education (New York: Macmillan, 1916), p. 90.

> Schooling as we know it (to play somewhat with Peters' defini-
> tion of education) is the attempt to transmit what some dominant
> groups in the society have selected as being worthwhile to those
> who may or may not be committed to it. It is essentially oriented
> toward socialization and indoctrination according to society's pre-
> vailing perceptions of man and the world.
> Schools have tended to define a single reality whereas learn-
> ing is a process of discovering that there are both multiple real-
> ities and many possible realities.[2]

The concern here is for discovery of the living contexts which permit

persons to flourish. Regardless of verbally expressed doctrinaire opinions

about what a child should know or learn, most parents and professionals

are concerned that their children should grow up to be as happy and as

self-fulfilled as possible. Ideally, the school, like the family, should

be a "living context" which stimulates creative growth and development.

It must be said that there are many teachers whose humane concern for chil-

dren over and above their specific pedagogical responsibilities contributes

significantly to the realization of many children's potential for creative

and responsible living.

But, in general, schools and our education system have failed to co-

operate in the development of a responsible use of television both at home

and at school. Educational programming on film and television has more

often than not been hamstrung by the subject-matter specialists' lack of

understanding of how a studio production is planned. Linear, conceptual

thinking presented by an untalented performer who cares not about his own

demeanour as a performer and even less about the effectiveness of visual

support for his ideas has traditionally had the full backing of the educa-

tional system in any discussion or dispute with the broadcaster about a

presentation to schools. Much progress has been made by agencies such as

OEAC which have tried very effectively to estimate the needs of schools

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[1]Vanier Institute, "A Conceptual Framework," p. 4.

for visual learning material. Sensitive programme planners have made

every effort to provide material which will contribute to creative social-

ization of the child. Extensive enterprise in the field of utilization

has helped teachers to make creative use of the programmes provided. But

apart from the occasional use of television in the classroom, the class

remains essentially didactic and conventional, limiting itself to the

definition of "a single reality" and has not responded openly to the

challenge presented by children who watch television for several hours a

day. In my view, it is as important for children to understand media as

it is for them to understand reading, writing, and arithmetic. The problem

is not confined to Canada. In view of the extensive viewing of television

by children,

> It is striking how little influence the school, as an institution,
> has in this context. As yet the Swedish curriculum offers no sys-
> tematic study of the mass media. It appears that teachers seldom
> recommend any programmes to the children. And since teacher and
> pupils neither seem to discuss programmes they have watched to any
> greater extent, one may perhaps conclude that television content
> most often is considered irrelevant to the classroom.[1]

This situation is almost universal in the Western world and reflects

substantially the conservative policy of institutional education. The

school curriculum is already loaded with demands for extension into areas

of inquiry beyond the limits of basic subject matter such as science,

mathematics, history, geography, languages, and literature. While one

must recognize the need for these basic core subjects, it should be pos-

sible to meet the educational and socializing challenge of extensive

television viewing among children in several ways. First of all, teachers

and curriculum consultants should be made aware of the power of the tele-

vision medium as a socializing force. They should be given basic training

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[1]Feilitzen, "Scandinavian Research," p. 55.

in visual literacy and in particular helped to acquire some familiarity with the techniques of television production. In this way, more teachers will learn how to prepare and to cooperate with television and film producers to deliver more relevant and more interesting material to the classroom. They will become more discriminating viewers themselves and will be more competent to discuss with their students (as we have urged parents to do!) the quality of content and the artistry or lack of artistry in the productions which they watch.

Much of what is suggested here need not constitute an additional "subject" to the curriculum. Rather we have urged that television can be integrated formally and informally with the existing curriculum to increase its relevance while honouring its traditional objectives.

Future Challenges for the Improvement of Children's Television

In times of economic inflation, it is not easy to press for expansion and new directions in programme endeavour for the public service. But if, as a society, we are sincerely committed to the welfare of our children then we must endeavour to expand creative planning to provide richer alternatives in television programming for our children.

Since we live in a society where the commercial imperative and the profit motive play such a major part in shaping our values, we shall have to persuade the public at large that just as public education is an investment in future generations of adults, so we must ensure that television is made to serve the same ends. It is easy to pay taxes to an institution like our school system and then leave the task to the professionals. Unluckily, television viewing is an informal activity often "enjoyed" without supervision of any kind. The only way to ensure quality is to see that proper controls agreed to among all persons and agencies concerned are exercised over programmes seen by children but not designed

for them. Then, a substantial investment in good films for children

must be made. The British Children's Film Foundation in London has set

a fine tradition in the production of films for children's Saturday film

matinees since 1927.

> At the present time, some 800 cinemas throughout the United
> Kingdom run these special performances attracting an audience of
> between 350,000 and half a million children every Saturday. The
> reason for their continued success is undoubtedly because cinemas
> endeavour to provide the sort of entertainment children like at a
> price which the children themselves can afford. The British chil-
> dren's matinee is possibly the cheapest entertainment in the world,
> admission prices ranging from twelve to a maximum of forty cents
> for a two-hour show. No form of advertising is permitted, except
> possibly for the particular brand of ice cream available during the
> interval. Parents, therefore, know that their children are not
> being commercially exploited.
> Not unnaturally, local authorities pay particular attention to
> the manner in which children's performances are conducted and usually
> insist on special fire and other precautions. Child welfare and
> other authorities have always been concerned about the content and
> the quality of the films screened and there is no doubt that the
> British children's matinee movement would have ceased to exist had
> it not been for the farsightedness of Lord Rank, who, in 1944, set
> up Children's Entertainment Films under the late Mary Field, with
> the sole object of improving and increasing the product available
> for children's performances. This organisation not only made a
> number of highly successful films, but also carried out research
> which provided guidelines, most of which are still applicable today.
> In 1951, this pioneer work was taken over by the all-industry
> Children's Film Foundation.[1]

These films have been used extensively on television chiefly by the

Canadian Broadcasting Corporation and the Columbia Broadcasting Company

in the U.S.A. as substantial elements in magazine shows for children.

But many more are needed. It has been customary for government in Canada

to tell those who clamour for more good children's television by CBC and

the NFB that it is up to each of these organizations to determine their

own programme and production priorities. Inevitably, public corporations,

like any other corporation, set their priorities in terms of public need

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[1]Henry Geddes, "The Children's Film Foundation," _Sightlines_, Vol. 8,
No. 1 (Fall 1974), p. 5.

perceived through ratings and other methods of feedback. Nevertheless,
it has already been stated that Canada produces more children's programmes
than any other country in the world except Japan. In spite of this
remarkable fact, the impact on the development of interest in pro-social
programming is not as great as this quantity of well-planned programming
should achieve.

The reasons for this situation are readily found. First of all, a
large number of programmes are produced to meet the needs of French-
speaking children in Quebec under the direction of Société Radio Canada.
OECA, Saskmedia, and ACCESS, the three existing provincial ETV organiza-
tions, all have produced children's programmes and the private television
stations, sometimes in cooperation with the CTV network, have produced
programmes. The reason that such a volume of programming lacks significant
impact is that there is little or no cooperative planning to ensure effec-
tive scheduling and to cover areas of interest not being covered. Above
all, the budgets for such programs are limited and do not receive the
creative and technical support which is given to major adult programming.

Given the policy of the federal government to support and to extend
bilingualism, much more money should be invested to develop a deeper and
richer cultural understanding between Quebec and English Canada through
the medium of children's programmes. In the past, there have been indi-
vidual cases of cooperation but the endeavour has been occasional rather
than developmental. What are really needed are programmes about children
and their activities in both cultures--the same content presented in
English and French to stimulate interest and mutual understanding. In
addition, there are production talents in both Quebec and English Canada
which should be available to all Canadians. In the past, documentary
material which can be dubbed in both languages has added to the volume of

programmes available. Cooperation of this sort has gone on for many years but should be increased in order to make more programmes of good quality available in greater numbers.

It is notable that the members of the children's program section of the European Broadcasting Union have similar concerns about the status of their programmes within their own organizations. As in Canada and the U.S.A. (both of which have the status of associate members in the Union), their budgets are not equal to their own requirements for quality and content. For this reason, at their annual meetings they look for program content produced by their colleagues which can be integrated into their own schedules. They share information about programme material produced by private organizations and, of course, they seek, by means of joint purchase, to get the best bargains they can. They discuss their policies and seek for qualities of behaviour in children which are common among all their cultures. In this way, they can engage in joint pre-planning which will ensure wider usability and distribution of their programmes among their membership.

Another area of concern about quality for children's programmes lies in the lack of money for script development and the production of pilot programmes. Taking the case of the CBC, the present lean budgets for all programming, and especially for children's programmes, means that there is little or no money for research, pre-planning, script development, or pilot production. It takes all the budget of the CBC just to maintain a full schedule. In my view, we simply cannot leave the entire responsibility to the CBC.

As was discussed earlier, too many agencies concerned with the welfare of children fail to cooperate with the programme planners for the film and television media in order to raise quality of programmes and to

inform the public about the best use of television for their children. A
precedent for this kind of cooperation was set by the Canadian Council of
Children and Youth in 1970 when the Ministry of the Secretary of State for
Canada provided funds to bring broadcasters, writers, parents, and educators
together to discuss the future needs for children's programmes and to
identify writing and performing talent in the several regions of Canada.
Such activity seems to me to be a responsibility of all agencies who share
these concerns. Enterprises such as Wintario and the national lotteries,
the Association of Canadian Radio and Television Artists, the Vanier Institute,
the Ministry of the Secretary of State, the Canada Council, the Province
of Ontario Council of the Arts, and others should be approached regularly
by health, education, and welfare agencies who have enlisted the support
of private and public broadcasting authorities to identify new areas for
programme development for children.

Both at home and abroad, further consideration should be given to
joint sponsorship of pilot productions to widen the range of programme
selection, to raise quality, and to get the most for the money invested.
While there is a general shift away from the commercial sponsorship of
children's programmes, the educational stations in the U.S.A. have always
allowed "institutional" promotions, e.g., at the end of the programme,
a credit is presented stating that the programme was made possible by a
grant from a corporation in the interests of the public service.

These suggestions are all consistent with the spirit of cooperation
which has been urged throughout this paper. It seems to me that leader-
ship towards this end is likely to be much more productive of quality
and quantity of children's programmes than will result from b tter and
uninformed attacks on broadcasters.

Conclusion

Throughout this essay the central concern has been with the growing child who will become the citizen of the future. In the course of his growth and development, the role of the family, television, the school, his peers, and other factors or forces have been assessed in terms of their several influences in the child's socialization. The term "socialization" has been employed in its broadest sense to comprehend both positive and negative forces, i.e., the identification of factors which contribute to the maturity of the individual, those factors which stress conformity and those which lead to anti-social behaviour.

In the fullest sense, socialization entails the cultivation of meaningful responsibility--the capacity of the family to respond to the child as an individual in whose potential for creativity the parents should have full confidence. Socialization in this sense enables the child also to respond to his parents and siblings as individuals. This ideal of respect for personhood within the family as a primary group is basic to the conception of "the family as a workshop in social change instead of as a guarantor of the social order."[1] Tensions within the family are best resolved by dialogical rather than by authoritarian behaviour on the part of parents. Authority implies single-minded righteousness of which no man is fully capable; dialogue implies the recognition of self-worth as well as self-limitation on the part of parent as well as the child.

The central concern of parents about television as an agent exercising a major influence upon the child within the family group is its challenge to cherished values. Specifically, parents are chiefly concerned about excessive violence in television programming because of its accent

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[1] Elise Boulding, "Familism and the Creation of Futures," for the Experimental Symposium on Comparative Futurology, 1971 Annual Meeting, American Anthropological Association, New York City, p. 3.

on power as a solution to moral problems; and yet, violence manifested in crime and sex as the content of most dramatic programmes on television remains universally popular. Regardless of the nature of programme content on TV--violent, sentimental, or dull--it can be safely said that everyone agrees about the dynamic impact of television as the viewers interact with presentations regardless of whether the impact is perceived to be positive or negative. Recognizing that a large portion of a viewer's life is taken up with watching television it cannot be denied that TV along with other mass media make up a powerful shaping force on personal and social development. If we are to assess this influence properly, we must have some more precise knowledge of how children perceive those elements of TV shows which we, as adults, find offensive; we must have some better idea of why adults continue to enjoy these shows which many parents find distasteful for children. Above all, regardless of content, it has become clear that parents must become informed about the production/direction skills which determine the aesthetic and social qualities of television shows of merit and distinction. What is the difference in impact of the dramatic presentation of Shakespeare's King Lear with the putting out of Gloucester's eyes and some of the violence we see in Hawaii Five-O? Is violence bad for its own sake? Is it tasteless presentation that makes the difference? What difference would it make to the impact of violence on television if the majority of viewers had a clearer understanding of just what makes a good TV show?

The call letters of the educational television station in Chicago, WTTW, symbolize that television is a "window to the world." The immediacy of modern communication reduces the factors of time and space to the instantaneity of a moment. Inevitably, international needs and concerns intrude upon our own national concerns. Certainly, "one of the goals of children's television should be to widen the child's outlook to include

people outside his home, outside his neighborhood, outside his state and country."[1] In the case of adult television we need much more information about the culture and life styles of societies remote from our own as an alternative to the visual accounts of war, misery, and violence which are daily to be seen on our television screens. If the world is now a "global village," one must know that village with all its facets, its needs and problems; we must know it as a community in which we are sharing, contributing members.

By using television to inform ourselves about the human condition in the world abroad, we open the windows of the closed society so characteristic of myopic nationalism. In every nation there are slums, culturally deprived people whose presence we can ignore because they have long since been reduced to silence.

> The objective datum of a closed society, one of its structural components, is the silence of the masses, a silence broken only by occasional, ineffective rebellions. When this silence coincides with the masses' fatalistic perception of reality, the power elites which impose silence on the masses are rarely questioned. When the closed society begins to crack, however, the new datum becomes the demanding presence of the masses. Silence is no longer seen as an inalterable given, but as the result of a reality which can and must be transformed.[2]

In short, nationalists of the narcissistic kind lose the vision of the world which they must share. Television is used to confirm rather than to inform. Such insensitivity leads to violence because the "silent masses" are deprived of their sense of identity and eventually, rather than submit to total personal annihilation, they rebel--and those of us who constitute the power elite are amazed and wonder why. We preoccupy ourselves with escapist entertainment which frequently legitimizes violence

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[1] Ralph Garry, Television for Children, p. 47.

[2] Paolo Freire, "Cultural Action for Freedom," Harvard Educational Review (1970), pp. 37-38.

against others as a means of confirming--not too subtly--our instinctive but irrational feeling that power is the supreme value.

> Technology thus ceases to be perceived by men as one of the greatest expressions of their creative power and becomes instead a species of new divinity to which they create a cult of worship. Efficiency ceases to be identified with the power men have to think, to imagine, to risk themselves in creation, and rather comes to mean carrying out orders from above precisely and punctually.[1]

The "haves" of this world in their unawareness of relationships and of the capacity for responsibility are as badly or worse off than the "have-nots" whom they exploit. Violence inevitably occurs when each is consciously threatened by the other. Escapist entertainment offers a false sense of security, a denial of significant human relationships and a postponement of responsibility. What could bring about reconciliation and human understanding becomes an occasion for confrontation and violence.

To achieve this ideal use of TV in our society, we must have cooperation among parents, educators, producers, and all other mature adults who have responsibility for the growth and development of children. Frequently our ideals are challenged by negative forces such as violence on television and we must be concerned. The warning of the Subcommittee of the United States Senate concerned with Television and Juvenile Delinquency as early as 1955 expressed this obligation:

> A constant vigil is required in relation to any large and powerful influence upon society. This is vital in a democratic state. The power of the people to direct their own destiny is enhanced by the energy with which they control the negative forces about them. If children are to live in an environment that is conducive to constructive attitudes and actions, they must live in communities where the adults about them are similarly motivated. Sober, unbiased adults can perform a useful function by maintaining steady watch over the programs offered for children and by promptly reporting offensive materials to responsibile sources.[2]

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[1]Ibid., p. 50.

[2]Television and Juvenile Delinquency, Interim Report of the Subcommittee to Investigage Juvenile Delinquency, to the Committee on the Judiciary, U. S. Senate, Washington, 1955, p. 50.

In the early days of television in North America when parents first became

worried about violence seen on the screen, Professor Dallas Smythe observed

that the concerned public might be dodging the real social issues and that

instead they were trying to make a scapegoat out of television.

> The basic real factor underlying the scapegoating tendency is the
> unspoken concern that the integrity of the individual human being
> is ever more threatened by a technologically oriented social struc-
> ture. The social structure gives to many the appearance of valuing
> technical progress more highly than the dignity of the human being.
> And perhaps the very shiny magic of the television technique invites
> scapegoating by contrast with the shabbiness in our social institu-
> tions. For as parents, legislators and the like, we cannot help
> but be guiltily aware of the extent of violence and dishonesty in
> the real world.[1]

It is in this "sober and unbiased" spirit that we commend to parents

and educators the integration of television into the primary group of the

family and into society. In this way our rights as individuals and our

democratic values will prevail in the creative use of the technology of

the mass media.

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[1] Dallas W. Smythe, "Dimensions of Violence, <u>Audio-Visual Communications</u>
<u>Review</u>, Vol. 3, No. 1 (Winter 1955).

APPENDIX

A Brief History of Children's Television Programmes in Canada

When children's programmes were first initiated on CBC radio, they were
classified as Institutional Broadcasts supervised under a programme depart-
ment which included programme promotions for public service agencies such
as the Red Cross, the St. John Ambulance Association, community relations,
and religious broadcasts. The needs of children were seen by the pro-
gramme division as "institutional" rather than "developmental." There
appeared to be no concern about the impact of radio programming on their
growth and development and no attempt was made to assess the programme
needs and interests of children before determining the kind of supervision
required for the production of children's programmes. Instead, supervision
was seen as a function of good public relations with parents and others
who might be concerned about radio programmes for children. The purpose
or policy which prevailed was to produce pleasing programmes which met
the obligation of a radio network to the community of parents and children
but no leadership for the use of radio in the creative growth and develop-
ment of children was given. As one observer expressed the problem, such
a limited policy "represented a recognition, yet a defensive posture,
about the need to do something about pressure groups with concerns.
Conventional mores were the keystone of programme planning; a cautionary
ethic rather than a creative design for children."

The first popular children's programme introduced on the English
network of the CBC in 1938 was Just Mary, a series of stories narrated
by Miss Mary Grannan, a teacher from Fredericton, New Brunswick. Miss
Grannan had developed her personalized format during the previous year
on the local station in Fredericton, CFNB. The series continued for

many years along with Maggie Muggins (1942) which featured original dra-
matic stories about the adventures of Maggie and her gardener friend,
Mr. McGarrity. Over the span of network radio programming, Miss Grannan
developed a high degree of competence as a broadcaster and many of her
stories were published.

In line with the spirit of institutional broadcasts, Kindergarten
of the Air began in 1947 with the cooperation of the Canadian Federation
of Home and School Associations, the Federation of Women's Institutes,
and the Junior League. Dorothy Jane Goulding was the presenter and the
scripts were prepared by two well-known nursery school-kindergarten
specialists, Misses Hazel Baggs and Gladys Dickson. Because of the pro-
fessional element in the show, it was popular with teachers and support-
ive of their endeavour in both home and school.

The radio schedule depended heavily upon personalities to carry the
line of programme responsibility, e.g., Mary Grannan, Dorothy Jane Goulding,
Lloyd Percival of Sports College, Doug Patrick of Stamp Club, Alan Mills
in song and Frosia Gregory as a story-teller. As well, dramatizations of
fairy tales and adventure stories were part of the regular schedule. On
the whole, the productions were of high calibre, often immitative of the
BBC or imported from the BBC. Because of the institutional character of
the supervision, the schedule lacked social relevance or any significance
for the changing environment in which children were growing up. At the
same time, the standards of production both for children and schools were
high and far surpassed anything produced in the United States. Regardless
of the "institutional" character of the programmes, they at least avoided
the charges levelled by Lee de Forest, one of the inventors of radio,
who once blamed American broadcasters for the impact of their radio pro-
grammes upon his child in the following terms:

You have made of him a laughingstock to intelligence, surely a
stench in the nostrils of the gods of the ionosphere. . . . Murder
mysteries rule the waves by night and children are rendered psycho-
pathic by your bedtime stories. This child of mine . . . is main-
tained moronic, as though you and your sponsors believe the major-
ity of listeners have only moron minds.[1]

When the English television service commenced in Toronto in 1952,

the Corporation decided to allow the television stations at Montreal and

Toronto to develop their own progammes and studio practices without direc-

tion from the national programme office for a period of two years. It was

thought that after this period the producers and the programme directors

would have learned enough about the new medium and its management to be

able to integrate their endeavour with the policy of the national programme

division. The national programme staff already had their hands full with

the radio schedule. Since both the administrative staff and the newly

appointed producers and technicians were unfamiliar with the television

medium, outside help for training had to be acquired. Moreover, it was

obvious that great numbers of creative and technical personnel would be

required in order to provide a network television service.

At the same time, since no systematic policy for children's programmes

in radio had been formulated, there was no model for the development of

this programme area in television. The result was that television pro-

grammes began in 1952 in much the same way as they did in radio, with no

conscious concern for the use of media for the creative growth and develop-

ment of the child. It was typical of the unconscious institutional and

condescending attitude towards children's programmes that two young women

were appointed as the first producers of television programmes for chil-

dren, the assumption of a male-dominated bureauocracy being that the use

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[1]Quoted in Erik Barnouw, Mass Communication: Television, Radio, Film,
Press. The Media and Their Practice in the United States of America.
New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1961).

of media by children was a primary concern of women in society. Their

first instruction, from the programme director, and indeed the only policy

direction they received, was "never mix education with entertainment!"

In 1954, the author of this monograph was appointed supervising pro-

ducer of children's programmes for the Toronto station CBLT to develop

policy and programming for children's television. An attempt was made to

integrate principles of child development into the television programmes

for children so that they would be dominantly a creative and pleasant

experience while contributing to and cooperating with the efforts of parents

and concerned adults to realize the child's full potential as an individual.

Such a programme entailed long-term dialogue and consultation with producers

to help them understand more fully their responsibility to their child

audience. In the fourteen years which followed, new producers were selected

and trained--some of whom had qualifications as educators and others who

were willing to work as a team in the development of creative skills which

would evoke the same creative responses from children. While there were

often tensions between the supervisor and the producers and many differ-

ences of opinion, a production unit was built up which won wide approval

throughout Canada and in the international community of broadcasting.

In the period from 1954 to 1958 the policy which was developing

applied only in Toronto. As new regional TV stations opened across

Canada in Halifax, Winnipeg, and Vancouver, originators of children's

programmes from these stations remained under the supervision of the

Institutional Broadcasts. The tension between the kind of policy outlined

in the main body of this paper and the notion of children's programmes on

institutional broadcasts was resolved by the creation of a national pro-

gramme department for children in 1958, which included both radio and

television. In my role as supervisor, I tried to implant the policy in

the programme contributions which originated in the network stations. It
was important to realize this objective since the Corporation was committed
to regional contributions to the network schedule. By means of national
conferences and travel to the various centres to the extent which budgets
would allow, we made some progress but there was no substitute for daily
dialogue and exchange of opinion about policy implementation in the produc-
tions. Only in rare cases did one find a programme director or a regional
producer who was capable of rendering creative results in production which
were in line with our policy.

Another challenge to policy was presented when I discovered after my
appointment as supervising producer in March of 1954 that the Corporation
had already made a commitment to purchase and produce a Canadian version
of the American Howdy Doody Show. I accepted the challenge when I was
told that the agreement would permit us to write our own scripts, introduce
new characters, and generally shape the new show to conform to our objec-
tives. Moreoever, since the show was to be available for commercial mes-
sages, I was assured that I would have significant control over the content
and the production of these messages. Apart from the commercial sponsor-
ship of cowboy serials there had never been any sponsorship of children's
programmes.

An obvious reason for the Corporation's decision to develop a
Canadian version of the Howdy Doody Show was to benefit from its estab-
lished familiarity for children who had heard it on American radio and
seen it on television. Questions arose among our unit: Was the promotion
of sales through children not a dangerous precedent for exploitation?
Was there not a danger of stimulating an over-developed sense of competi-
tion among children? Could one develop proper standards of taste and a
constructive set of social or ethical values through the format of a show
so notably designed in its American version for sales promotion?

We sought the answer to these questions in consultation with the
advertising agencies who provided the scripts for the commercial messages.
We attempted quite successfully to integrate the commercial messages into
the scripts. Since the scripts were well written and since the advertis-
ing agents agreed to work closely with the writer and producer we managed
to present tasteful commercial messages which, in the context of Canadian
middle-class culture of the day, were almost universally accepted. The
same artistic standards prevailed in the production of both the show and
the messages.

As well as the control over production of the commercial messages,
there were long-standing policies of the Corporation which helped to main-
tain high standards of taste. In addition, the content of all commercial
messages which dealt with food had to have clearance from the National
Department of Health and Welfare.

After the first year of the series, it was necessary to abandon our
policy of the production and integration of commercial messages because
of strong pressure from the advertising agencies for the use of filmed
commercial messages and of new puppets specifically associated with the
sponsor's product. The reason for the pressure came from the increasing
cost of production of studio commercial messages. By using film, the
advertisers could devise messages which could be used more frequently and
for wider audiences. "Integration" of such messages was an aesthetic
impossibility.

Gradually, the issue of sponsorship faded away because the advertiser
lost interest in reaching a limited audience and preferred the use of
station breaks for commercials for special occasions, such as toys at
Christmas. Moreover, the American Howdy Doody Show through the National
Broadcasting Company engaged in the merchandising of toys, hats, T-shirts,

etc., which often related to the sponsor's commercial message. Such a
thriving promotional endeavour sustained and amplified the sale of the
sponsor's product through the American show. By policy, the CBC did not
engage in the merchandising business. For this reason, among others
mentioned, the Canadian Howdy Doody Show gradually lost all of its com-
mercial sponsorship.

On the programme side, other innovations were made. The most basic
change was the substitution of Timber Tom for the American Buffalo Bob.
In introducing Timber Tom, we were anxious to present a mature character
whose name would indicate his familiarity with Canadian folklore and
nature lore. He was to be a leader both for the inhabitants of Doodyville
and for his wide audience of viewers. An actor rather than a personality
was chosen because the policy of the show was to be carried by the script
rather than by the immediacy of the emcee's personality. In this way, it
was hoped to stimulate a disciplined and creative response from the young-
sters in the Peanut Gallery. It was intended that the children should
respond to the leadership given by Timber Tom in order to develop an
ordered pattern in their conduct and spontaneous fun rather than rowdy or
disorderly conduct.

As part of the attempt to build up the character of Timber Tom as a
leader and as a source of reliable information, the content of the film
clips in the show was changed. The old-time movies were replaced by
nature and travel film clips. A recent report of UNESCO on the Child
Film Audience had revealed that travel and nature films were by far the
most popular among children. Judging from the response of the youngsters
in the Peanut Gallery, this theory was confirmed. Instead of trying to
maintain the pace of the show by means of the old-time movies, the purpose
of the travel and nature films was intended to give relief to the pace

of the show and to relax the viewers. At the same time, there was an opportunity to communicate some information to the viewers' minds which was both interesting and instructive. It was felt that youngsters had a keen enthusiasm for knowledge and it was further believed that there was no better time to capture their attention than when they had been won by means of entertainment which had already stirred their sense of pleasure and fun. As in the NBC show, these film clips were run without sound track and were accompanied by a commentary by Timber Tom, with musical accompaniment by the organist. The children in the Peanut Gallery frequently asked Timber Tom interesting questions and expressed their enthusiasm for the educational films which were shown.

Throughout its history, the show became a vehicle for the continuing development of our policy which evolved over many years. We were fortunate to have the talent of a gifted and intelligent writer in Cliff Braggins, a distinguished organist in Quentin McLean, and fine actors in Peter Mews, Claude Rae, Alfie Scopp, Barbara Hamilton, Robert Goulet, and Larry Mann, among others. Through the Peanut Gallery where some twenty or thirty children sat each day as part of the set, we were able to provide children with a first-hand experience of a television studio, and the opportunity to interact with the distinguished actors who contributed so much to the quality of this production.

As confidence grew in our ability to implement our policy in the continuity of a daily variety show for children, Howdy Doody was dropped from the schedule and replaced by Junior Roundup, which allowed for segments to be contributed from other Canadian stations. In my view, this series failed because of the lack of frequent interchange with the network producers about the continuity. Real synthesis in the continuity was not practiced.

Later we returned to a daily show produced at Toronto entitled
Razzle Dazzle. A cast of attractive characters including actors such as
Michele Finney and Ray Bellew served as presenters with action expressive
of their responsiveness, playfulness, and trustworthiness. There were
elements of satire on adult mannerisms in order to relieve hostility
caused by authoritarian parents and adults. The script depended on com-
ments and suggestions from network stations across Canada. Membership
buttons, telephone interviews about unique experiences in the regions of
Canada were included. The series was successful in achieving the objec-
tive of giving a network image for our network offering to Canadian
children.

Reference to two early productions of the period from 1954-55 adds
further light on how the policy developed. _Let's Make Music_ with the well-
known musician David Ouchterlony was intended to introduce music to chil-
dren. It was a combination of informal commentary about music, a conver-
sation and performance by a guest musician and in the later history of
the series an occasion for a spectacle such as a ballet. After several
seasons we sought to provide a more unified visual experience, still keep-
ing the integrity of Mr. Ouchterlony's musicianship and his attractive,
disarming personality. The format was reduced from thirty to fifteen
minutes and musical instruments as puppet characters skilfully voiced
interacted with Mr. Ouchterlony, In this way we put more emphasis on
helping the young viewer to identify his own emotional and aesthetic
reactions to the programme content and to contribute more fully to his
creative experience of both the music and the television medium.

In the story-telling area, we made another significant development.
In the same period we had a series entitled _Hidden Pages_ which had been
developed to stimulate the circulation of books at the public libraries

of Canada. The program format included a picture book for younger children and a book for older boys and girls which was presented by the narrator interspersed with dramatized segments. It had astonishing success in stimulating interest in books among young viewers. As the series developed, the attempt to reach two different age groups in one show was abandoned. We concentrated on books which could be made into valid dramatic experiences for children. In short, the "institutional" emphasis was reduced in favour of the aesthetic use of the medium thus providing the viewers with a valid aesthetic experience of television.

Another development arose out of the early production of a series called Telestory Time. It was a combination of original stories told by a narrator on camera accompanied by an organist and a skilful cartoonist who sketched visual continuity on a roll drum. While the writer and each of the performers was gifted in his own way, we recognized that the combination could only confuse the young viewers. Eventually, the series was replaced by Mary Grannan's Maggie Muggins which was adapted from the radio format. The producer and writer were challenged to provide new relationships between Maggie, Mr. McGarrity, her gardener friend and neighbour, and her animal friends who were represented as puppets. Both writer and producer learned a great deal about visualization in television from this production. Although the stories often lacked social relevance for children of that day, they nevertheless were offered crisp and carefully designed television productions. The problem of story-telling for younger viewers was finally resolved in the acquisition of The Friendly Giant, already referred to in the main body of this monograph. The show is a successful combination of a story-teller existing in a realm of fantasy easily entered by the child where a meaningful sharing experience is possible.

The ultimate ideal in story-telling on television is the development of a filmed adventure series which provides legitimate models of character for children's response and constructive dramatic action. Television and film drama is expensive to produce. In its history the CBC attempted several times to produce the definitive Canadian adventure series. Radisson, The Forest Rangers, Rainbow Country, all represented steps in the right direction but they fell short of ultimate success because of price restraints which ruled out accessibility to top-flight writers and performers. Policy control was difficult because they were produced under contract with private film production companies. Inevitably, adult values crept in which lacked relevance for young viewers. The pressure to make the series saleable in the United States tended to bring emphasis to values which were not entirely consonant with the best models of dramatic action for children. To maintain the right amount of dramatic tension without resorting to the clichés of television violence was a constant challenge. In the end, only a full commitment of money and talent along with the full support of a thinking, informed as well as concerned public will enable Canadians to realize the ideal of dramatic programmes on film and television for children.

In the earlier days of television we tended to follow the radio tradition of dealing with skills, crafts, science, hobbies, etc., in separate 15-minute programs such as Hobby Workshop, How About That (science), troubadours and singers. The productions depended essentially upon the personality of the presenter and the visualization of his skill. As our appreciation for continuity and visual sequence in magazine shows developed, we moved away from these formats including them as segments in a format like Junior Magazine. The current head of Children's Television at the CBC strongly favours a return to this tradition if the

opportunity ever arises in the schedule. Junior Magazine, formerly
scheduled for one hour on Sunday afternoon has long since been displaced
by adult sports activities.

Throughout the history of children's television in Canada many
attempts at cooperation between Société Radio Canada and the CBC have
been made. In the earliest days of English television, a dubbed version
of the Radio Canada puppet production of Pepinot and Capucine was pre-
sented weekly. Because no assessment had been made of its adequacy for
English-Canadian child audiences, it was more of a formal gesture than
a significant, creative model of intercooperation between the two services.

A more successful model for cooperation was provided in the English
and French versions of La Vie Qui Bât with the English title, This Living
World. A popular French-speaking Canadian in the garb of a coureur de bois
situated in a naturalistic setting presented live animals in their habitat
and gave pertinent information about their behaviour and their place in
the realm of nature. The script writer was bilingual and prepared an
English as well as a French version. The production in French was done
in the morning and the English production with an English-speaking master
of ceremonies was done in the afternoon. Consultation between the heads
of both the English and French children's television services ensured
quality control and programme relevance for both networks.

For many years Hélène Baillargeon presented a series for young chil-
dren entitled Chez Hélène. While there was no curricular sequence for
instruction in the French language among the young viewers, the show did
provide children with exposure to the French language as well as English.
The interplay between Hélène and her friends provided domestic situations
to which children could easily relate and gave them the sense of two cul-
tures in one Canada.

Through the medium of Junior Magazine as far as budget permitted, segments from Montreal were included which presented aspects of life in Quebec. Similarly, a series of Schools Broadcasts entitled Visite au Québec presented an encouraging course for cooperation between the two networks. The action centered around two young teenagers, Alan and Robert. Alan, whose home is in Calgary, has corresponded for some time with Robert, who lives in Montreal; Alan is now visiting with his friend. As the boys travel around the province of Quebec, Alan has ample opportunity to put his high school French to good use. Apart from any educational or pedagogic planning which was an essential part of the programme, the concept for the series of eight units was a model for familiarizing students in other parts of Canada with life in the province of Canada. The series is highly suggestive for future programmes which might be introduced about life in other provinces. The use of English and French could be developed in the scripts in such a manner as to encourage a positive attitude to bilingualism among all Canadians.

Another production by Société Radio Canada which was exhibited at the Prix Jeunesse International in Munich in 1976, La Famille Papatie will be dubbed for use on the English Network children's programme schedule. The choice is interesting because it presents, in a sensitive manner, a problem common to both English and French Canadians, the problems of native peoples in present-day Canada.

> To live like the white man or to keep to their Indian customs: this is the dilemma that faces the Papaties, an Algonquin family living in the forest of northern Quebec.
> The father has already made his choice. He has refused to enter the "reserve". He lives in a tent by a lake teeming with fish, and divides his time between hunting and trapping.
> He teachers his children, Guillaume (12 years old) and Hélène (10), the Indian way of life: hunting, fishing, and life in the forest.

He shows them how to make a canoe water-tight, handle and
set traps, butcher a beaver and cure the skin, etc.
But Guillaume and Helene go to school on the "reserve".
They will thus come to know the white man's way of life. For
them, the moment of choice draws near. Will they adopt the white
man's way, or will they keep to their own customs?[1]

In consideration of the use of broadcasting as a means of develop-

ing national unity, it is well to recognize the deep-rooted significance

of regional differences, particularly in these days when bilingualism is

such a critical issue in Canada. The understanding of differences con-

tributes very effectively to meaningful communication and ultimately to

any realization of national unity. At the present time, the bilingual

head of children's television for the English network is able to deal

realistically with the realities of network cooperation because he has

an insight into the relevance of children's programmes from Societe

Radio Canada for use on the English network. He appreciates the fact

that the policy of Société Radio Canada for children's programmes is

primarily directed towards the goal of maintaining the traditions of the

culture of Quebec. While the children's unit of Société Radio Canada is

concerned both with the entertainment and the development of the chil-

dren whom they serve, they are also anxious to manifest the living spirit

of a French culture which dates back to the colonization of Canada by

France. The schedule of children's programmes is intended to contribute

to the whole appreciation of the traditions which make Quebec and its

language and culture a vital force in the Canada of today.

In the spirit of cooperation, the English network has taken a puppet

series, Nic et Pic, from Société Radio Canada, which is translated from

the French and produced in English. The Head of Children's Television

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[1]Prix Jeunesse International, 28 May-5 June, Munchen, Germany.

for the English network reviews the scripts and makes the final selection. The series is about two puppet mice who scout in their balloon through time and space to the four corners of the earth and to past eras, reporting on adventures from the lands of fact and fable. The series is so successful that it has been taken up by the children's services of France, Belgium, Switzerland, and Sweden as well as English Canada.

In a similar vein of cooperation, a thirteen half-hour series of documentary programs for children entitled One Northern Summer is being produced in French in Toronto for use on both the English and French networks. From the English network a series entitled China Today is also being dubbed in French. The attractiveness of this series for both networks lies in the fact that the content is made up of 8 mm. film, shot by a group of Vancouver high school students who took a tour to China. Having learned of their plans, the CBC arranged to have the students instructed before they left in the use of Super-8 motion picture cameras so that the film shot would be of broadcast quality. The final production was not only interesting in terms of information but provided a high level of identification for teenage viewers regardless of language or culture differences.

In the main body of this monograph, we have already referred to cooperation with international broadcasting organizations to share the increasing cost of productions for children which will meet the highest standards. In cooperation with UNICEF, both CBC and Société Radio Canada are cooperating to report through documentary programmes about children in other parts of the world. Presently, there are plans to produce a programme on native peoples within Canada which will likely have programme relevance outside Canada as well as for both networks within the country.

In this encouraging development there looms the ever-present expense of animation and of lip-synch for the adaptation of voices from other languages. In the past, many programmes which would have value for countries with a different language have had to be abandoned because of the cost of lip-synch. Animation programmes are popular across cultures but are expensive to produce. If we really believe in bilingualism, biculturalism, not to mention international understanding, it is of the utmost importance to invest cooperatively to achieve the highest quality in production.

There have been many problematic areas in the production of children's programmes indicated in this brief history, particularly the lack of conviction in the importance of high quality in production and the lack of adequate funds to realize the high ideals of policy developed by conscientious supervisors throughout the past twenty-five years. In spite of these difficulties, there have been many achievements which have brought distinction to Canada both at home and abroad. We have the talent, we have the means to achieve our goals. Let us hope that with support from concerned groups of people in every province of Canada we can move ahead to make broadcasting the creative experience it can, and should, be for children.

SELECTIVE ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY

The books and papers listed in this bibliography were used in the prep-
aration of the monograph and are not intended to be exhaustive of
sources for each of the subject-matter areas. Nevertheless, the bibli-
ography should give the reader basically clear direction for any further
investigation which may be required.

I. The Canadian Family and Peer Groups in Relationship to the
    North American Family and the Use of Television in the Home

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the differences, the following books were useful in identifying those dif-
ferences. At the same time, articles which deal with the effectiveness
of parental supervision of children while watching TV as well as the lim-
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V. General Effects of Television on Families and on Children

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comparing books written in the fifties with those written in the seventies

one can see changes in attitude and the use of television by producers,

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VI.   Violence and Television

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